The Gospel for a Working World

HARRY F. WARD

Portage, Ohio.

Nov. 1918.

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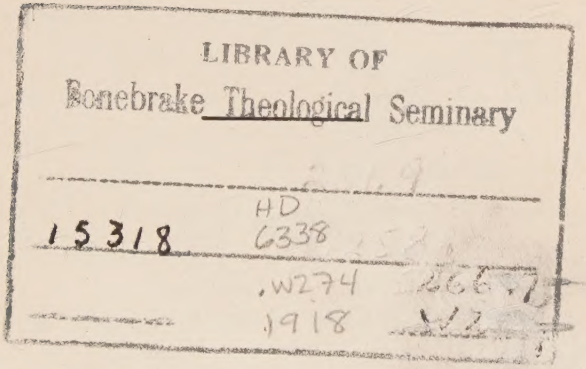
A STEEL WORKER by L. M. JEROME.

On the lawn of Charles M. Schwab's residence, Riverside Drive, New York.

THE GOSPEL FOR A WORKING WORLD

BY
HARRY FREDERICK WARD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Send the proper one of the following blanks to the secretary of your denominational mission board whose address is in the "List of Mission Boards and Correspondents" at the end of this book.

We expect to form a mission study class, and desire to have any suggestions that you can send that will help in organizing and conducting it.

Name .....

Street and Number .....

City or Town .....State.....

Denomination .....Church.....

Text-book to be used .....

We have organized a mission study class and secured our books. Below is the enrolment.

Name of City or Town.....State.....

Text-book .....

Denomination .....

Church .....

Name of Leader.....

Address .....

Name of Pastor.....

State whether Mission Study Class, Lecture Course, Program Meetings, or Reading Circle.....

.....

Underline auspices under which class is held:

Church	Y. P. Soc.
Men	Senior
Women's Soc.	Intermediate
Y. W. Soc.	Junior
Sunday School	

Date of starting .....

Frequency of Meetings.....

Number of Members .....

Does Leader desire Helps?...

Chairman, Missionary Committee, Young People's Society.....

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Address.....

Chairman, Missionary Committee, Sunday School.....

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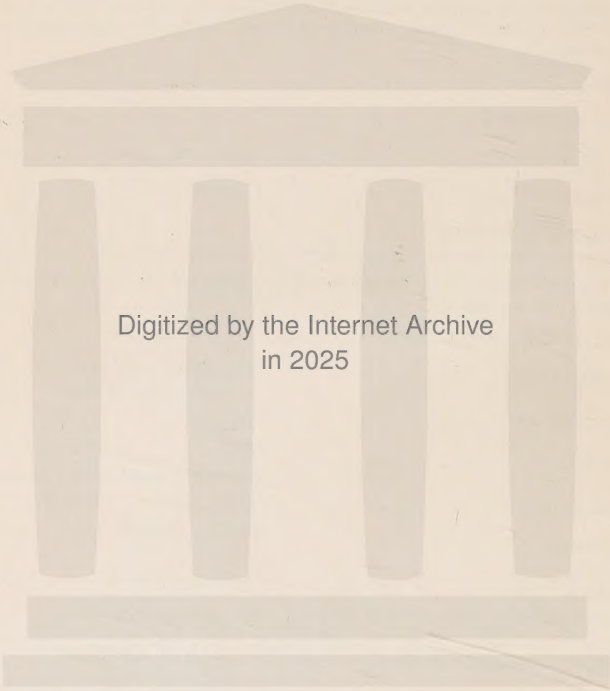

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INTRODUCTION

The new home missions has consciously and aggressively accepted a continuously expanding program. It defines itself as "a group of activities attempting to Christianize the United States." It insists that the church should recognize and support it as "one of the chief devices of social progress and control." It has developed the social mission by the very ardor and sincerity of its efforts to Christianize the individual. These efforts in mission churches and settlements led it into a ministry to all the aspects of the life of needy folk and then into manifold functions which seek to Christianize all the conditions that surround their lives. The whole complex field of human life is now regarded as within the scope of the missionary activity of the gospel. Every association of mankind—the family, the state, industry—all the different group activities and relations of life, the play and the work of the community, as well as its worship—these are now considered fields of Christian activity. The purpose of missions is not simply to put the flag of Jesus on the last frontier, not simply to carry the gospel to the rim of the earth, but to put it at the center of human life. It seeks to make the gospel the inspiring force and power of the whole social organism. It demands that it actuate the entire life of the individual and the entire life of society; that it inspire every function and activity of humanity. Its goal is a redeemed humanity living together in the "commonwealth of God."

Home missions has found its task by following the un-

churched, unevangelized groups, such as the settlers on the frontiers, or the Indians on the reservations. In answer to the same call of human need, it has found new frontiers running across city streets and alleys, across country villages and towns, as it has sought to minister to the immigrants and to the people of the rural sections. These new frontiers prove now to be the borders of great stretches of unoccupied territory. Seeking to reach with the gospel the people who live on these new frontiers, the church finds itself compelled to carry the gospel into all the territory that their life occupies. The gospel must reach them not merely in the church, but in the tenement, the store, the factory. It is not content to open up settlements or missions for immigrants in congested districts and gather in their children for social ministry and religious instruction without at the same time applying the gospel to the conditions of housing that destroy the lives of those children and to the conditions of child labor that weaken and prevent their development. In this practical fashion, following the gradual call of increasing needs, the whole social ministry of the modern church program has developed. The attempt to carry the gospel to any group now beyond the borders of the churches involves also the carrying of the gospel to the conditions under which they live and work. The discovery of this fact through the natural development of missionary policy at home and abroad has led its leaders to ask the churches to devote a year to the study of industrial problems and to call for this and other books.

This study deals particularly with those conditions and relations in the world of work which are out of harmony with the teaching of the gospel. It therefore does not at-

tempt a judicial survey of the industrial world as a whole. It uses the "case method," and because this method, whether in the law school or the medical clinic, selects extreme cases in order to reveal general tendencies and so find general remedies, the massing of such cases naturally tends to create an impression of overemphasis upon abnormal conditions. In the present study, however, the incidents given have either come under the personal observation of the writer or have been taken from current records. That so many of them could thus have been gathered indicates that there are much more serious and widely extended needs in the world of work than is commonly supposed by the people who do not touch industrial conditions or read the *Survey*, or government reports, or labor and radical papers. Because it is not desirable to burden a text of this sort with foot-notes, authorities have not been cited. They will be found in the appended reading list.

A study such as this is inevitably open to the charge of undue sympathy with the wage-earner. That is a question of the facts. If the facts show that the producers are not getting equal opportunity with the possessors for the development of personality, then the church, like the prophets and Jesus, must be on their side to the extent of securing justice for them and must call upon all possessors who would continue to call themselves Christians also to take the side of the weak and the suffering until justice is achieved. It is not a question of siding with any organization but of siding with eternal justice and the needs of humanity. The church is obligated by all its principles to champion the cause of the oppressed and disinherited of mankind. It remains only

to determine whether the facts establish the presence of such a group in modern society. Then comes the question of the nature and purpose of that attitude. The church must seek not merely justice for the suffering and the weak, but justice and the highest spiritual development for all the people.

In any discussion of social ills the demand for a program is always raised. It is natural to seek a short way out of our difficulties, a simple solution for our problems, a panacea for our misery. But there is no such remedy at hand. The program is continually to be made. All that can be done is to point out the general lines of advance upon which social reconstruction is now proceeding, to make clear the general principles of action which the gospel proclaims and which the conscience and practise of humanity approve, and to insist that they be followed to further development. The amount and character of social construction effected by the war show the futility of any fixed formula.

There is a constant demand to be told just what to do, but that is just what must be found out by experience in every situation. The Christianizing of industry demands initiative and experience. From the action of others in similar situations some hints as to method can be gathered from the text. Whatever directions can safely be given on the basis of present experience will be found in the teachers' manual to be used with this text.

I am greatly indebted to Miss Grace Scribner for the gathering and classifying of data, and to Ralph E. Diffendorfer for continuous counsel.

HARRY F. WARD.

FOREWORD

Some years ago a young preacher went to take charge of a church in the neighborhood of one of the largest producing units of one of the nation's basic industries. It was home missionary territory filled by unskilled immigrant workers. The larger part of the cost of the church had been given by one of the magnates of the local industry. The larger part of the annual budget came from other men at the top of this industry. A modern type of home mission work was developed. A social ministry was organized to meet all the needs of all groups of the community which were not being met by other organizations. But there was little response from the men. The women and children came, but not the men. The preacher wondered why. One night he found himself in the midst of a crowd of men coming home from work. He heard one man say to another with a bitter sneer in his voice, "Well, we worked for the church again tonight, didn't we?" The curiosity of the preacher was aroused. He determined to find out what that meant.

He discovered that the great corporation which was trying to destroy competition without, was developing the spirit of competition between the departments within its own organization in order to increase output and reduce labor cost. Under this pressure some of the foremen of the unskilled gang had secured a rule whereby overtime was not to be paid for unless it went beyond forty-five minutes. Then it was to be paid for at the rate of an hour. Under this rule they then began skil-

fully to work their gangs overtime for different periods less than forty-five minutes, never passing that limit except under the pressure of rush work. It did not take the unskilled immigrant workers long to discover how they were being robbed of their labor. Then they read in the paper how the chief owner of the business gave a gift to every new church of his denomination built in that city. They also knew that he had given largely to the local church. Hence their bitter phrase, "We worked for the church again to-night."

The preacher came to see that as long as that unjust industrial condition remained, no program that the church could develop would carry the gospel to those men. The Christianity that functioned in parts of the life of the head of the business had to become manifest in the treatment of unskilled laborers by his foremen. This was not a difficult task. It merely required that he should be made acquainted with the facts.

In the same neighborhood a year or two later a girl was coming home from work with a crowd of her companions. She took no part in their laughter and conversation. Suddenly in a moment of silence she turned to the rest and said, "I'm through. I'm not going back there. I'll never do another day's work in that dirty place, and I don't care what happens to me." This attitude was the result of four years of monotonous toil in brutalizing surroundings. She belonged to the church and attended the settlement, but both of them together were unable to prevent the moral disaster which was the inevitable consequence of such an attitude. Unchristian industrial conditions had proved stronger than organized Christianity. Such cases of spiritual disaster are excep-

tional perhaps; but so are cases of large spiritual development under such hostile industrial conditions.

Such experiences made it clear to that preacher that there are many conditions and relations from which the workers in modern industry suffer and from which many of those who support the extension of Christianity now profit that are contrary to the teachings of Jesus. He became convinced that organized Christianity must discover and remove these conditions before it can carry the gospel effectively to the groups which suffer from them, that such effort is indeed the proclamation of the gospel with power. For some years he has been seeking to discover just what are the unchristian conditions and relations in the world of work and just how they may be removed. This book is a part of the undertaking.

I

THE RIGHT TO LIVE

Aim: *To show the necessity for the churches to secure protection for the lives of the industrial workers to whom they are seeking to carry the gospel.*

I

THE RIGHT TO LIVE

Is the Worker Sacred? "We use up one batch of men as fast as we can, and when they are done, we throw them aside and get another." This was the regretful admission of one big business leader concerning the effect of his industry upon the lives of its immigrant workers. Such a fact opens new territory for the home missionary endeavor of the churches. To these immigrant toilers it sends Bibles and preaching, classes in English and in civics, missionaries and deaconesses. They cannot say, "No man cares for my soul," but can they say, "No church cares for my life"? The ancient Hebrew law cared with great tenderness for the well-being of the slave workers, both native and alien (Exod. 21.26; 22.21; Deut. 14.29). Jesus fulfilled the law at this point by declaring a man to be worth infinitely more than property (Matt. 12.12). Are not the churches then obligated to secure protection for the lives of those industrial workers whom they are seeking to reach with his gospel?

The Battle-field of Peace. Except in the case of some great explosion, terrific railroad wreck, or enormous marine disaster, the newspaper headlines do not chronicle the casualties of the peaceful battle-fields of industry. That gruesome story is mostly buried in official government reports. It makes grim reading. A conservative estimate, based on the records of a number of

states, puts the death list of American industry at 25,000 a year. The number of serious injuries is estimated at all the way from half a million to two million a year. In the mining and metallurgical industries of this country 3,500 men are killed and over 100,000 injured each year. The director of the Bureau of Mines declares that half the fatalities and three fourths of the injuries could easily be prevented, and computes this to mean an annual money loss of $12,000,000 a year. In France and Belgium the accident- and death-rate among miners is one fifth of what it is in this country. In 1914, its first year of operation, the Industrial Accident Board of Massachusetts reported 454 fatal accidents and one non-fatal accident for every ten wage-earners in the state. The New York Labor Department (omitting three catastrophes from fire and explosion) thus reports the causes of fatal industrial accidents in 1911-14 in the order of number and percentage.

Mechanical power, 457 or 42.3 per cent.
Heat and electricity, 259 or 23.9 per cent.
Fall of persons, 199 or 18.4 per cent.
Weights and falling objects, 81 or 7.5 per cent.
Miscellaneous, 85 or 7.9 per cent.

The uncovered belt, the unguarded saw and knife, the unsunk set-screw, the defective wiring, the careless workman—these are the occasions of destruction in modern industry. The cost of their death harvest must be added to the price of the goods which we buy.

The Price of Coal. Gibson, the English poet, tells how he came to write of the sufferings and struggles of the toilers. "Sitting snug in my easy chair, I stirred

the fire to flames." Then as he watched the glow, "the flickering fancies came." He saw:

> Amber woodland streaming;
> Topaz islands dreaming,
> Sunset cities gleaming,
> Spire on burning spire;
> . . . . . .
> Witches' caldrons leaping;
> Golden galleys sweeping,
> Out from sea-walled Tyre.

Then suddenly another picture came.

> I shut my eyes to heat and light;
> And saw, in sudden night,
> Crouched in the dripping dark,
> With steaming shoulders stark,
> The man who hews the coal to feed my fire.

Then he wrote his poems about the lives snuffed out by the quick explosion that shatters the rock upon them; about the men sitting with clasped hands, waiting in the dark for the stealthy after-damp, that,

> . . . . . creeping, creeping,
> Takes strong lads by the throat and drops them sleeping,
> To wake no more for any woman's weeping,

about the mothers and the girls struck silent by the news of the sudden death of sons and lovers, and left to live in broken-hearted loneliness.

Working with Death. Mining is only one of the extremely dangerous occupations. The railroads of this country have reduced passenger deaths by accident almost to a minimum, but they kill ten thousand workers every year and injure one hundred thousand more. The price of the safety of the passenger is the death of these workers. The Bulgarians have a proverb that "there is not one bridge, there is not one big building if it is to

last, that does not have some human soul at its foundation to give it strength and life." This is a recognition of the grim fact that every great structure is consecrated by the blood of humble workers. The structural steel workers have the highest recorded death-rate of any occupation in the country. Their life-blood goes with the rivets that hold together our great steel bridges and the frames of our sky-scrapers. If there is a more dangerous trade, it is that of the man who goes down to the sea in ships. But he is "the forgotten man." The government has kept record of the deaths and injuries on railroads and in manufactures. In the report of the Fisheries Commission there is no information concerning the fatal accidents among deep-sea fishermen. It has just been discovered that milling is a dangerous occupation. The grain dust in mills and elevators has been shown to be even more inflammable than coal dust, capable of developing a higher pressure upon explosion. During recent years a number of men have been killed and injured in mills and elevators from explosions caused by open lights, by sparks from motors, and by the friction of belts and grinding machines. It is the unreckoned part of the cost of bread. In one of his poems Kipling reckons the lives of the sailors of England spent to establish her sea power and makes them say:

> "If blood be the price of admiralty, Lord God, we ha' paid in full."

What price do the industrial workers pay for our prosperity? The prophets brought a bitter word of God to the zealous worshipers of old: "And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea,

when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood" (Isa. 1.15). How does this apply to the people who labor hard to build churches and invite the toilers to share in their worship, and yet do nothing to save those toilers from death by accidents which are preventable?

The Old Days. "On the ninth of last October, at about ten o'clock in the evening, Walter Stelmaszyk, a sample-boy, went to one of the blast-furnaces to get a sample of iron to take to the laboratory. He stood at one of the entrances to the platform. The bright liquid iron was running out of its tapping-hole and flowing in a sparkling, snarling stream along its sandy bed to the big twenty-ton ladle that stood beside the platform on a flat car. Walter Stelmaszyk stood still for a moment and gazed at this scene. It was well for him that he hesitated. Suddenly there came a flash, a roar, and a drizzle of molten metal. Milak Lazich, Andrew Vrkic, Anton Pietszak, and Louis Fuerlant lay charred and dead on the casting floor." The cause? Some fire-brick, fallen out from beside the tapping-hole, had been cheaply replaced by fire-clay, which soon wore through and let the hot metal come in contact with water. This was typical of the steel industry ten years ago. But those days have gone forever. The steel industry has become a leader in the safety-first movement. It not only installs safety devices, but also continually instructs foremen and workers in the use and observance of them. In the old days many men were killed when crossing the switching tracks. There were danger signs, but "it is useless to expect a Bohemian who has worked all day in the heat and glare of a blast furnace to pay much attention

The isolated miner working a one-man drill is in constant fear of an accident where no assistance can reach him.

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to a danger sign, especially if he doesn't know how to read—which he usually doesn't." The men expected the danger signs to be supplemented by the ringing of the locomotive bell and the cries of the engineer. One man described his accident as follows: "No choo-choo! No ling-ling! No '——— ——— you, get out of the way!' Just run over." To-day that man is taught to read and appreciate the danger sign.

Preventive Measures. Nearly all the states now have some legislation to protect the lives and health of the wage-earners. These preventive measures are supported by many owners and managers. The general manager of the Remington Typewriter Company, as a result of twenty-five years of engineering experience, says that legislation will be futile that does not invite and secure at every stage the cooperation of trained mechanical engineers. He demands uniform state safety laws and scientific administration of them.

The Bureau of Mines has recorded the rescue of more than one hundred entombed miners by government agents and many more rescues by volunteers trained by the Bureau's rescue and first aid stations established in hundreds of mines throughout the country. The total number of miners now trained for this rescue work has reached 24,975 (1914). The states are already expending more than the federal government in behalf of mine safety. Pennsylvania makes yearly an expenditure of $213,000. Twelve individual mining companies have rescue cars, four more than are operated by the federal Bureau. Industrial accidents are being prevented by improved state inspection methods, by safeguarding machines before they leave the factory, by the maintenance

of safety museums, by lectures, moving pictures, school talks, and the elimination of danger spots in plants. These measures are an expression of Jesus' teaching concerning the worth of every human life. The churches have both proclaimed and acted upon this teaching in their missionary activities, until now it is expressed in these safety-first measures in the industrial world. Are not the churches then obligated to help extend and enforce these measures? There is need of constant vigilance if the lives of the workers are to be protected.

A current newspaper says: "The lives of more than one hundred men were snuffed out by the mine disaster in Hastings Canyon, Colorado. The accident, it is said, was due to the neglect of the company officials to provide certain protection demanded by law and asked for by the employees." On the train the other day a young man was telling his companion about the high wages he was making in a ship-building plant. Presently he said: "That's a pretty dangerous place to work. They kill a man about once in two weeks, and somebody is injured every day."

Taking a Chance. The life of the worker cannot be made safe merely by regulation. Managers of industry rightly complain about the difficulty of educating workers to be careful, about their willingness to take a chance. This attitude is a reflection of the American philosophy of life. When Kipling was on his first visit to this country, he was astonished to find his train going across a trestle that looked as if it were ready on the slightest provocation to crumble away into the mountain torrent beneath. He remonstrated to the engineer, who replied, "We guess that when a trestle's built it ought

to last forever. Sometimes we guess ourselves into the depot and sometimes we guess ourselves into hell." Here speaks the spirit of reckless hurry and gain which runs through American life. It makes some managers say, "What does it matter? It's only a hunkie." And it makes some hunkies recklessly careless of their own lives and of their fellow workers in defiance of the orders of the management. To both managers and workers, to owners and wage-earners, the church must make clear the teaching of Jesus concerning the value of every life, until they will observe it both for themselves and for others. There is no better way to teach immigrants a new reverence for human life than by showing them, through measures for their safety while at work, that their lives are reverenced both by the management and the community.

The Next Step. At a conference concerning welfare work, one machinist got up and said: "I have been working all week at a machine from which I took the safeguards. Did I break a law of this state, because I want to take a chance? Not a bit of it. But because I have a wife and two boys to feed. I cannot keep up with the efficiency standard of my plant and operate that machine with the safety device on it. I must either lose my job, or take a chance and break the law." This is evidence of the fact that laws will not enforce themselves. They are not equipped with self-starters. This experience also indicates that there are some further tasks to be undertaken before the life of the industrial worker is made sacred. Christianity has yet to reckon with that desire for profit that puts pressure on the workers to nullify the safety that has been provided.

From Different Angles. Most of our industrial states now have workmen's compensation and employers' liability laws which assure the workingman and his family of some relief from the financial burden imposed by industrial accidents. They are a product of the Christian conscience. A bulletin of the Manufacturers' Association reports that "under the first year's operation of the Pennsylvania Workmen's Compensation Law, 1916, the total awards amounted to $4,224,875. For eyes, arms, hands, legs, and feet, the total amount was $562,204. Two hundred and eighty-three eyes had the sight totally destroyed, whether the eye itself was removed or not; arms, legs, and feet were amputated to the number of 209.

1 eye	$ 950
1 arm	1,537
1 leg	1,463
1 hand	1,347
1 foot	1,241

"The money total is the amount actually paid, or to be paid in instalments, to the injured workers. It does not include the cost of medical and surgical services which the employers paid."

To a writer in a working-class paper it seems as though the bulletin treats this matter "calmly and coolly, as though it were giving the latest quotations on pigs' feet or calves' brains. These tragedies, each one a fearful calamity to the humble toiler and his family, are a by-product in the profit system of wealth production. They are inseparably bound up with long hours, monotonous labor, starved minds and bodies. A father's eye-

sight gone; a brother's arm crushed in the rolls; a sister's hand torn to shreds. This is the price, not calculable in cold dollars and cents, that we pay for the hideous institution of capitalism."

Occupational Disease. In a small town that was full of churches, one Sunday morning while the church bells were ringing and the people going to worship God, the writer found two small shacks in which thirty to forty Italians were housed in double-decker bunks. Here they slept and cooked. The cracks in the boards let in the winter weather. The air was foul and damp from the cooking and washing. In the bunks two of the men lay sick with pneumonia contracted from exposure at their work in the excavation and from the bad air of the shack in which they slept. The church people of that town who were supporting home missions had no knowledge of this situation right at their own church doors. It was a small example of occupational disease which takes a heavier toll of life from the industrial workers than even preventable accidents. The United States Health Service puts first among the more important factors which affect the health of the wage-earning population the "occupational hazards of disease," that is, the risk of those diseases which originate in certain trades. They are divided into two groups: those which affect the workers in harmful substances, in metals, dust, gases, vapors and fumes; and those which affect the workers under harmful conditions, heat, moisture, cold, confined air or bad ventilation, overcrowding, compressed air, excessive light, strains of muscles, nerves, or special senses, and the like.

The Dangerous Trades. The European record

finds that the occupations in which the death-rate is highest are those in which the worker is exposed to hard dust, mineral or animal, and those in which the worker is exposed to inclement weather while unable to exercise. The grim list of occupational diseases includes: "the hatter's shake, the potter's rot, the painter's colic and wrist-drop, the match-maker's phossy-jaw, the brass-worker's asthma." Those who work in the wool, leather, and horsehair industries are subject to anthrax, due to the introduction of a minute bacillus that clings to the hides of diseased animals. Wood alcohol poisoning attacks varnishers and furniture finishers, lacquerers, hatters, and others. It results not infrequently in partial or total blindness. Those who work in the caissons connected with the building of bridges, tunnels, subways, and sky-scrapers, have the disease called "the bends," or compressed air illness. Blood sometimes runs from the eyes, nose, and ears, and the pains in the joints and muscles are excruciating. Paralysis and death are not uncommon.

Industrial Poisons. A federal government health report declares "there is scarcely any one line of modern manufacture which is free from the dangers of industrial poisoning." Most of the occupational diseases come from exposure to poisons, particularly phosphorus, lead, mercury, and arsenic. Workers in certain parts of the boot and shoe industry are exposed to naphtha fumes. In the rubber industry the workers are exposed to poison from anilin, also from antimony. They often get "gassed" from the fumes of naphtha, benzin, or gasoline. Hat-making is a dangerous business. About fourteen per cent. of the hat-makers examined by the New York

City health department were suffering from mercurial poisoning. The workers in fur also are commonly afflicted with eczema, due to the dipping of the bare hands in dyes and other chemicals. In the manufacture of dyes, wall-paper, artificial flowers, chemicals, glass, oilcloth, and many other products, arsenic endangers the health of the worker, causing a number of painful diseases and sometimes death, resembling that from cholera. Those who manufacture thermometers, electric meters, and explosives are also exposed to mercurial poisoning, whose final result is general nervous paralysis. No less than twenty-seven trades are menaced by arsenic poisoning. New forms of industrial poisoning have developed during the war from the chemicals used in the manufacture of high explosives and in the preparation of airplane wings. These poisons, their effects, and their prevention have been promptly studied, and our manufacturers, encouraged by various government agencies, are endeavoring to avoid the injury to workers experienced by England and Germany.

The Dangers of Lead. Of all industrial poisons, however, lead is in most common use. In approximately 150 industries it daily exposes thousands of American workers to the risk of lead-poisoning, with its paroxysms of colic, its nervous convulsions, its partial paralysis, wrist-drop, and often insanity. It also develops progressive hardening of the blood-vessels, frequently developing into cerebral hemorrhage and death. The records of individual workers who have suffered from it are ghastly reading. Here is a man dying at the age of thirty-nine, leaving a widow with two children. A tall, vigorous man, weighing 186 pounds, em-

OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES

1. PHOSSY JAW. Necrosis caused by the inhaling of white phosphorus fumes. The poison attacks the alveolar process of the jaw bone which is least protected against infection. Investigations and prohibitory taxes have recently reformed the match industry in which the disease most frequently occurs. One manufacturing firm generously renounced their patent rights to a safety process so that others might use it.

2. ANTHRAX. The largest record of this infection is found among handlers of hides and tanners, for the disease is of animal origin. Leather workers, kid workers, brush makers, workers in hair and haircloth, wool sorters and workers in the woolen industry, longshoremen and veterinarians are frequent victims of the disease. Adequate methods of disinfection which will leave the hides uninjured are now being developed.

3. LEAD POISONING. Lead is used in more than one hundred industries and the ranks of the employees give many examples of lead poisoning. The greatest number of these are due to the breathing of the fumes or to the inhaling of the dust. The nerve tissue becomes affected and causes paralysis. One common type of this disease is "Wrist drop," and the condition indicates a muscular fatigue as an inducing cause.

4. PAPILLOMA. In occupations where the skin surfaces are exposed to irritating substances, warty growths appear which may develop into tumors. A long-continued injury to the skin serves as a basis for the subsequent development of a cancerous condition. The illustration shows papilloma of the hand of an iron worker. The dangerous lesion is due to friction from the tools of the trade.

Courtesy of American Association of Labor Legislation.

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ployed in the finer part of painting as a letterer and striper in car-shops, worked steadily until he was suddenly stricken, and died in eight days. Here is an unskilled laborer who for years dipped manufactured articles into paint baths and then later stood between the drying racks and packed the dipped things for shipment. For five years he suffered terribly due to lead-poisoning from the wet paint that dripped upon him from the rack. Three of those years he was unable to do a day's work. Here is Sadie G., an intelligent, neat, clean girl who worked in an embroidery factory. She used a white powder to transfer the perforated design to the cloth. Her last employer found that using white lead powder mixed with resin, instead of chalk or talcum, prevented the design from being rubbed off. It cannot be conceived that he knew anything of lead-poisoning. None of the girls knew of the change nor of its danger. Continually they breathed this powder. In the hot, crowded workroom soon Sadie's appetite began to flag. She lost her color. Very soon she had terrible colic and could not go to work. Her hands and feet swelled. She lost the use of one hand. Her teeth and gums were blue. When she finally went to the hospital, and an examination revealed lead-poisoning, no one knew that her work had involved the use of lead until one of her friends recalled hearing the manager send a messenger out several times with money to buy white-lead powder.

Stop It! Lead-poisoning can be stopped. In England and Germany the use of lead is so hedged about with stringent regulations as to rob it of its worst dangers. In large English white-lead factories not a case of lead-poisoning was found in several successive years. In

this country twenty-five cases were found in one year in a model factory employing two hundred. In a small factory in operation only one year, where nine men are regularly employed, using molten lead as a tempering agent, nine men have had lead-poisoning. The American Association for Labor Legislation publishes the following summary of European and American conditions:

EUROPEAN	AMERICAN
White-lead factories in Düsseldorf employ 150 men; examining physician reports 2 cases in 1910.	American white-lead factory employs 170 men; 60 cases in 1911.
English white- and red-lead factory employs 90 men; no case of poisoning in five successive years.	American white- and red-lead factory employs 85 men; doctors' records for six months show 35 men "leaded."
At the Hart Accumulator Works in London (storage batteries) 80 to 100 men are employed; no case for over a year.	Storage battery plant in Chicago employs 15 men; two cases of poisoning in nine months.
Government factory inspection in Staffordshire potteries reports 13 cases among 786 male dippers in one year.	An American local dippers' union reports that 13 men out of a local of 85 dippers had 16 attacks of lead-poisoning in one year.

In Great Britain the ratio of cases to employees is one to eighty-nine. In this country it is one to ten. The British result is accomplished by drawing off fumes and dust, by special ventilation, by forbidding the dry sandpapering or dry chipping off of lead paint, by separating workrooms and lunch-rooms, and by special cleanliness in the washing of hands and changing of clothes on leaving the workroom. Lead-poisoning is on the increase in this country in the automobile factories where men are "sanding the boxes" without proper protection. Belgium, regarding human life as worth more than a

highly polished surface on an automobile, prohibits the dry sandpapering of paint. The failure of American industrial communities to sense the seriousness of this situation is strikingly revealed by a recent news item in the Chicago *Herald*: "Arrested because he told laborers seeking work at the ———— Company's paint plant that they would die of lead-poisoning if they worked there, Michael Strym was fined one dollar and costs by Judge ————."

Study and Action Needed. Every industrial center in this country should maintain a clinic for the study of occupational disease, such as was organized first in Milan, Italy. Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis are all places where the study of dangerous industries should be undertaken. In March, 1916, the commissioner of health in New York City authorized the opening of a clinic for the study of occupational diseases. There was no appropriation available. He used a loft in a building owned by the health department. He begged, borrowed, or stole furniture from the other offices to serve the bare necessities. The laboratories of the department of health were, of course, at the disposal of the new branch. Has the Christian conscience no obligation to see that our public health department be given the means to make the investigations that may save the lives of the workers in dangerous trades? What would be the missionary effect upon those workers, native and alien, if they knew that the churches were actively conducting a propaganda for their protection from occupational disease? Here is also an opportunity for pioneer service by Christian employers. One of our largest paint companies has fur-

nished an example by its methods to protect its employees from lead-poisoning. One of the biggest match companies contributed notably to the abolition of the use of poisonous phosphorus in that industry by its willingness to relinquish its patents. The American Chemical Society has a committee to study occupational disease in the chemical trade and to secure sane and uniform legislation. At the 1916 meeting papers were presented on the newer industrial poisons, and opinions were expressed in favor of the establishment of a "safety museum" and the medical inspection of all industries.

Deadly Dust. Industrial poison is only one of the enemies that daily lie in wait to attack the servants of industry. In many of our great industries hundreds of thousands of workers are exposed to the deadly effects of bad air and dust. The national census and state industrial surveys shows an extra mortality for tuberculosis and pneumonia among the industrial workers. The cotton industry, with its lint-filled atmosphere, its high humidity and temperature; the silk industry, with the unregulated moisture of the weaving shed and dye house; the metal manufacturing trades with their exposure to dust and vapor and extreme heat; certain processes of the boot and shoe industry, where trimming, shaving, scouring, polishing, finishing, and cleaning parts of the shoe generate dust of leather; lint, fiber, bristles, dry flax, sand, emery, and carborundum—all these expose the workers to a high tuberculosis risk. "The humble stonecutter who spends his life in carving lasting memorials for his fellow men, on account of the dust he breathes, dies fifteen years ahead of his time." The lint of the cotton-mills, the dust of the metal trades, the quarries,

the shoe shops, and the coal mines feed on the lungs of the workers, and they never go hungry. Tuberculosis is entirely an industrial and social disease.

Cure or Prevention? One city in this country has spent large sums of money, enormous skill, and much Christian compassion in the erection of a great tuberculosis sanatorium; yet its beds accommodate only a fraction of those who want admission. Those in charge can receive only incipient cases, they can keep them only ninety days, and then they must discharge them with the notation, "on the road to recovery." Yet the chief cause of tuberculosis shown on the records of that hospital is dry grinding in the metal trades, for that is a metal-manufacturing city. This means that many half-cured workers are sent back to the same trade which gave them the disease. That sanatorium is an expression of the missionary spirit of Christianity, which has taught the people in civic action to love their neighbors as themselves. Will not this spirit now move to prevent the disease which it has sought to cure?

"Misery Diseases." It is not only because of his extra risk from preventable accidents and occupational disease that the industrial worker dies faster than other groups. The modern pathologists classify about eighty per cent. of our diseases as "misery diseases"; that is, they are due entirely to improper conditions of life and labor. The United States Public Health Service finds the main reason for unhealthful modes of living to be economic. It thus classifies the causes of the low health of the wage-workers: first, inadequate diet; second, bad housing conditions; third, community environment. The death angel is not impartial when he passes through our cities. The

highest death-rate is found in the districts where the people live whose wages will not provide adequate diet nor proper housing. An intensive study of six tenement blocks in New York City showed that while the death-rate for the city as a whole was 18.3 per thousand, and 51.5 per thousand for children under five years of age, in those particular blocks it varied from 22.3 to 24.9 per thousand for all ages, and from 59.2 to 92.2 per thousand for children under five years of age. The difference in the tuberculosis death-rate in three working-class districts in Cleveland was 5 per thousand in a good neighborhood, 23 in an average one, but 35 for the worst. The mortality statistics of the federal census show that the death-rate in the cities where large numbers of low-paid workers live runs all the way from three to nine per cent. above the average. In those cities the line between the sections occupied by the families of low-paid foreign-born workingmen and those occupied by skilled workers, business men, and other residents is sharply drawn.

Equal Rights to Life. Here is a great fact challenging the Christian conscience: the industrial wage-earners are subject to a much higher mortality than the other contributors to the community life. The insurance statistics of England show that the industrial wage-earner has an average expectation of life of 27 years, but the leisure class man has an average life expectancy of 57 years. Is the great message, "whosoever will," to apply simply to spiritual privileges and not to the right to live? What is the meaning of "equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"? If the intelligent and well-to-do are able to find large exemption from the

risks of death, and then fail to provide the same safety for others, what then becomes of democracy and Christianity? The game with death is a game which all men must play with the risk of losing, and the worker has ever played it bravely in the fields, in the forest, on the sea, and in the mines. Over the Sailors' Home in Lübeck is this inscription, "It is necessary to sail the sea; it is not necessary to live." Always there must be the yielding of life in the community service, but the risk must be made as equal as possible or we must cease to profess a belief in loving our neighbors as ourselves. Will not the spirit of home missions, which is desirous of sharing the house of God with the toilers, also be eager to give them their due share in the house of life?

The New Conscience. Behind the measures developed in recent years to protect the lives of the industrial workers is a new sense of the dignity and worth of human life. It came from the gospels, and it has changed the status of the worker. Formerly he was a slave; then he was a serf; now he is a citizen.

"Why didn't you let the swine drown?" said one general concerning thousands of common soldiers of the enemy who were trapped by an inundation plan.

"We needed their boots," was the reply of the other general.

That was the old pagan view of a superior social group. In a recent mining disaster the management declared it would go to any expense and any risk to save the life of one worker. That was an expression of the Christian principle of reverence for personality. Working as leaven, that principle will make further changes in the industrial world.

The air lock above one of the caissons used in making the extremely deep excavations that are necessary in building bridges, under-water tunnels, subways and skyscrapers.

A disease called "The Bends" has been a menace to the health of those who work in the caissons. Paralysis and death have not been uncommon.

The caissons are weighted and sunk into the earth and continually built up at the top as the structure gradually sinks to the bottom. They are fitted up with a shaft through which excavated material is removed and for the descent of the workman. There is also an exhaust pipe for pumping out water, a series of pipes for supplying compressed air, electric light wires and a signaling system.

When the workman enters the air lock the air pressure is slowly increased until it equals the pressure in the caisson. As he descends the blood receives an increase of oxygen and nitrogen. The gases absorbed are gradually distributed to the fluids of the various tissues. If the workman is returned too rapidly to normal atmospheric pressure the nitrogen gas bubbles off in the blood and blocks up the capillaries, and by cutting off the blood supply in one or another part of the body, causes air illness. The nervous system suffers proportionately the most and the spinal column is affected, hence the common name "The Bends."

Courtesy of American Association of Labor Legislation.

The Right to Work. The conscience that insists on protecting the life of the toiler from sudden destruction will also protect it from slow extinction. He cannot live unless he can work. He must be able to get bread for himself and his family. This is no longer an individual problem as in pioneer days when it depended on a man's industry and energy. Now it depends on the will of others, on great social forces, which only the community can control. During most winters men may be found at the gates of our great industries fighting for the chance to work. They have been known to tear the coats off each other's backs, and even to trample a man underfoot and break his leg in the fierce struggle of the crowd to get first to the few jobs that were offered. This is an expression of the desire to live. What has religion to do with it? What does it mean that Jesus gave the crowd both loaves and fishes and the bread of life?

A Spiritual Necessity. The consequence of prolonged unemployment is physical, moral, and spiritual degeneration. The man who cannot get work is apt to find the saloon more attractive than the boarding-house or the home. His will, like his muscle, becomes flabby. He loses courage, energy, independence, and soon he eats in contentment the bread of idleness. The discipline of work is one of the valuable stimuli for the development of the higher qualities of life. To deny men this is waste, not only of economic power, but also of the spiritual forces of the community. It is a reckless throwing away of the divine energy imparted to all human life.

Another Extra Hazard. The risk of unemployment

is another extra hazard to which the worker is subjected. This risk has largely disappeared during the war, owing to its industrial demands, though even now the United States Bureau of Labor reports unemployment in some centers. But the close of the war will disarrange industry and will bring back an army for employment, many of whose jobs are now being filled by women. The further down the scale of employment, the less secure is a man's grip upon his job. The more he needs continuous work because of the smallness of his wage, the less likely he is to get it. The unskilled industries are the seasonal industries that constantly shut down. Salaried positions are more or less secure and often continuous for life, but wage-earning gets very precarious after the age of forty-five, when a man can no longer keep pace with the efficiency system. The Manly report to the United States Commission on Industrial Relations declares that wage-earners lose from one fourth to one fifth of their working time during the year, and that the greatest amount of this time is lost by the poorest-paid workers, both because they are unskilled and because they are weakened by poor nourishment and bad living and working conditions. One fourth of the time lost is due to sickness, two thirds is due to lack of work or inability to find it, two per cent. of the idleness is due to strikes, and two per cent. to accidents.

Those Who Can't or Won't Work. The report points out that there is a group who are permanently unemployable. They are the people who have dropped out of the ranks of industry, broken down by the

unsteadiness of employment and by other causes. Some are mentally defective or physically incapable, others are down and out or have lost the habit of working, others live by their wits, by begging, or by crime. Even during the most prosperous times, when labor is in great demand, these people do not work. They are unemployable in the same sense that children, the old, the sick, and those who live on income from investments are unemployable. No amount of work provided by public or private forces would have any appreciable effect upon these. They need the hospital or corrective treatment.

A Question of Justice. The conclusion of the report is that the burden of unemployment is practically borne by labor, which, in the main, wants to work but cannot. Capital is not subject to the same risk because a fair return of investment is usually figured by the year, so that the dull seasons and the busy seasons modify each other, while labor is obliged to maintain itself as a reserve force during the periods of unemployment. Here is yet another challenge to those who are organized to spread a gospel which declares that the strong should bear the burdens of the weak.

Unemployment and Sickness. Tom Rowe is a man of foreign birth, sixty-two years of age. He has lived here for many years and worked as a longshoreman. He is a member of the union. His work is uncertain at the best, and it becomes increasingly irregular with his advancing years. Six years ago he contracted pneumonia. He suffers now from chronic asthma. He is no longer fitted for such heavy work. Because he is neither equipped nor willing to do anything else,

his working life is practically at an end, with no provision for the future. Tow Rowe's situation shows the close connection between unemployment and sickness. The United States Health Service finds that irregular employment has a very detrimental effect upon health. When the income of the worker is uncertain, physical efficiency is impaired, both in himself and in his family. It leads to worry and periodic overdriving. It means conditional and irregular nourishment. Of 7,000 applicants of the casual labor class at the San Francisco cooperative employment bureau one half of the total number had been incapacitated for work by poor nutrition, exposure, and disease. The Bureau concludes that irregularity of employment becomes a health problem. The industrial worker's extra risk of unemployment and of disease must be considered together. They both lessen his chance for life. They make a vicious circle which must be cut by recognizing and providing both the right to work and the right to live.

The Inefficient. In a Western state, out of a group of American-born men seeking work at a public institution during one winter—men who, as the superintendent expressed it, were "just beginning to learn that they could beat the game"—86 per cent. had never gone beyond the fourth grade in education. Of 417 cases studied in Boston, lack of training was most characteristic of the men. Few had completed the grammar school, fewer still the high school. The majority were either physically handicapped or of low mentality. With little or no education and small earning power such men live all the time on the border-

line of unemployment. Here is John Doe, of native birth, thirty years of age. He left the school while in the grammar grades. He was not well equipped for life nor particularly intelligent. Without any special fitness for any task, he became one of an army who, when asked to designate occupations, say "Laborer." He drifted from one job to another, meanwhile acquiring a taste for drink, which made him less efficient. Shortly before the war he secured employment as a teamster. The sudden cessation of shipping threw him out of work. As he had made but twelve dollars a week, he soon needed help. There are many John Doe's. The churches constantly assist in providing relief for these men and their families. They are thereby brought face to face with the deeper question of their unemployment.

Preventing Unemployment. Of 61 union men out of 417 who came for help during a winter of unemployment in Boston, none came from the cigar-makers' union, which in addition to regular out-of-work benefits paid a local assessment of $12.50 on each member. This constituted the most striking experience of the winter in Boston. Much could be learned from it about unemployment insurance. Provision against unemployment was the obligation of some of the earlier Christian groups. It is still the obligation of the union and the fraternal order. In many cases the church is finding jobs for the men who belong to the Bible class or the men's club. During the strenuous winter of 1914-15, 56 cities reported a total expense of $3,600,000 for public works for the unemployed. These experiments were mostly successful. The greatest obstacle

to their complete success was the failure to make plans before the emergency was at hand. But the result of that winter of distress was that the public came openly and consciously to accept as the first step in the solution of the problem the establishment of a nation-wide system of public employment exchanges. This means such an exchange in every state and in the leading cities, cooperating with the federal department of labor. The churches can aid the demand and effort for these exchanges. The final solution, however, rests with the managers of American industry. Judge Gary declared that the unemployment of 1914-15 was evidence of failure on the part of American industrial management. Industries can be regulated so that unemployment is reduced to a minimum. If organized Christianity can lead the American people to recognize the sacredness of human life and its right to live and work as the Hebrew people recognized it, by providing the proper training for every child and the opportunity for every youth to take part in productive labor, will it not acquire new power in the nation? In modern war the whole economic life of the nation is mobilized. Everybody is put to work. Why should not this be the habit of the nation in time of peace?

War on the Unborn. The effect of occupational disease and unemployment upon the worker are not confined to one generation alone. Lead-poisoning is a race poisoning. It has power to impair the germ of life for the next generation. Unto the third and fourth generations are the consequences of our industrial and social sins passed on. Infant mortality is highest in the great industrial cities and in the sections of these

cities where the industrial workers live. The right to live is being taken away from the next generation. Many of the children born of parents who have suffered from industrial disease and from the poverty of unemployment will get the right to only the fraction of a life. Their vitality will suffer permanently from the same conditions which have depleted that of their parents. What obligation does this place upon those who would spread the teaching of him who said, "Suffer the little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me"?

A Practical Religion. The religion which would comfort the worker when dying must also protect him from death. The preaching which proclaims the value of the soul must also seek to realize that value in life. The employer who is willing to recognize the worker as an immortal spirit within the walls of the church must also treat him as such in the place of employment. The prophet saw that God had compassion especially for all the little children of Nineveh, and even for the dumb beasts. The compassion of God must be expressed to-day in protective legislation for the wage-earner. The first step in Christianizing industry is to make safe the life of the worker so that, as the ancient prophetic vision declares, he shall be unhurt and unafraid. The religion which leads the community to respect the life of the worker will clearly gain new power for its appeal to him to respect his own personality.

Safety devices on grinding wheel manufactured by the Norton Company for the National Tube Company. The safety features are a proper tool rest, an eye shield to prevent the flying metal dust from entering the eyes, a standard hood with protective arbor end, an exhaust system for drawing the dust away, and shields enclosing the transmission belt. These comprise preventive measures against disease and accident.

II

THE DAY'S WORK

Aim: *To show the relation of the shorter work-day to the development of the spiritual life, in order that efforts to secure that day may be recognized as a fitting missionary endeavor.*

II

THE DAY'S WORK

The Task and the Song. Some of the oldest songs in the world are songs of toil. Many of the ancient folk-songs express the joy and fellowship which the workers of the past found in their common labor. The workingman of other days was also the singing man, and the rhythmic record of his toil is in the swing of "harvest home" songs, in the haunting, moving music of plantation melodies and of the "deep-sea chanteys" to which forgotten sailors heaved the net or raised the anchor or hauled the sheet. Wherever men have worked together they have learned to sing together. In one of our recent labor conflicts a significant incident occurred daily. When the peasant women of many nations gathered together to peel the they sang in many tongues not one of the ancient songs of toil, but one of the great hymns of the modern labor movement voicing its faith in the coming of a day when the workers should all be brothers. This ancient relationship between the work and the song expresses not alone the actual fellowship of toil, but also the dignity and the value of a worthy task.

The Old and the New. A recent poem describes Jesus looking in vain through the modern working world for the ancient singing man. The Russian harvesters used to sing as they brought home the grain:

Open, O master, the new gates,
We may bring a crown of pure gold,
. . . . . .
O ransom, ransom the crown of gold,
For the crown of gold is woven.

A modern Jewish garment worker of Russian origin cries:

"The machines in the shop roar so wildly that often I forget in the roar that I *am;* I am lost in the terrible tumult, my ego disappears, I am a machine—there are no feelings, no thoughts, no reason; the bitter, bloody work kills the noblest, the most beautiful and best, the richest, the deepest, the highest, which life possesses."

At their trade on the sea the English fishermen for centuries have sung:

Watch barrel! Watch mackerel for to ketch!
White may they be like a blossom on a tree;
God sends thousands, one, two, three.

The workers in ancient English orchards, watching the bees, would sing:

Bees, oh bees of Paradise
Does the work of Jesus Christ,
Does the work that no man can.
God made man and man made money;
God made bees and bees made honey.

A modern English unskilled worker thus describes the lot of his kind:

One with the work he cleaves apart,
One with the weary pick he wields—
Bowed with his weight of discontent
Beneath the heavens' sagging gray,
His steaming shoulders stark and bent,
He drags his joyless years away.

The Songless Armies. Who sings to-day at his work? Not those who toil amid the rush and roar of engines, or the whir and clatter of looms; not

those who must speed every faculty to keep up with the machines, and spur every sense to guard against their dangers; not those who must turn out the greatest possible amount of work in the smallest possible amount of time or else lose the opportunity to earn a living; not those who work underground in darkness, nor those who toil at night while others sleep. No song comes from those steel-workers who toil twelve hours a day and seven days a week, nor from the longshoremen whose average time on duty is two days and one night. The women workers of 491 stores investigated who "complained that it took them so long to make a living that they had no time left in which to live" do not sing; nor do those waitresses for whom every day means up at six, away at six-thirty, home at eight at night, worn with twelve hours of toil, and as one of them put it, "with sore feet and a devilish mean disposition"; nor does that fourteen-year-old boy in an Illinois town who worked eighty-five hours in a drug-store in one week; nor that fifteen-year-old learner in another drug-store in the same town who worked seventy hours a week regularly in a state that forbids the employment of children under sixteen years of age for more than eight hours a day or at night.

What Stops the Song? Yet these workers would sing if they could, for life ever breaks into music. Youth still goes to its task with laughter and a song; but the speed and strain of modern industry soon choke and stifle the song. In any of our cities watch the armies of youth marching to work in the morning with smile and joke; then watch them as they leave

the factories, the offices, the stores, at night. They have not the same spirit with which they marched in the morning. There is a different tone to their laughter. Then next morning watch the older industrial workers, and see how the habit of silence has been fixed upon their lives. In one of our great cities there is a street called "dinner-pail avenue" because of the numbers of workers who pass daily along upon it. For the most part it is crowded with a silent, songless, almost sullen throng. They look like conscript armies, forced to toil because they must, but finding neither laughter nor joy in their toiling. Evidently they have been used up in the making of goods, not in the making of life. Their silence is the sign of fatigue.

What Is Fatigue? One of the romances of modern medical science and legal investigation is the record of the recent studies of the nature and causes of fatigue, and the application of the knowledge gained by these investigations in lifting the burdens of fatigue from overtired workers. Public health specialists now talk about "the toxin of fatigue." They declare that "the overtired person is literally a poisoned person, poisoned by his own waste products." To be tired from hard work in healthful surroundings is a normal and beneficial condition. To be in a state of excessive fatigue or exhaustion is abnormal and dangerous. In this condition the body fails to get rid of its own waste products; these poisonous impurities that constantly arise in the chemical processes circulate in the blood, the brain, the nervous system, the muscles, the glands. Normally they are burned up by the oxygen

brought by the blood, or they are removed by the liver, the kidneys, or the lungs. If, however, work is carried beyond the point of fatigue, the system fails to eliminate these waste products. They remain to impair the health and perhaps to cause death. They make so slight an ailment as a cold dangerous to life. Another danger of fatigue is that the body is then unable to work by the power generated from its own stored-up substances. It must call upon its nervous energy, and this oftentimes leads to breakdown.

A National Peril. Some years ago the Committee of One Hundred on National Vitality, whose report is now a Senate document, declared that the chief cause of preventable sickness and death in the United States was that the majority of the population is continually in a state of overfatigue. The brief presenting the case for the shorter work-day to the Supreme Court of the United States, in defense of the Oregon ten-hour law, points out that the outstanding fact in our health situation in the United States is the extraordinary increase in the so-called degenerative diseases, that is, diseases of the heart, blood-vessels, and kidneys. We have checked tuberculosis and typhoid fever, we have decreased infant mortality and lowered the death-rate for children; but the mortality from the degenerative diseases shows a steady and marked rise. In this breakdown of the most important organs of the body is the greatest menace to American vitality. Having considered all the available medical testimony, the brief concludes that while the reason is still in part obscure, it is clear that one important contributing factor is the stress and strain of American ways of

"The death rate is high among children of women who have overworked in girlhood."

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living and working. "Statistics prove that these diseases reduce the working productive period of life, the period of greatest industrial activity. They are thus peculiarly disastrous for industrial workers already subject to higher incidence of disease than other classes of society."

A General Condition. Fatigue and its consequences may be found in all sections of society. It is evident in the tired business men of the suburbs as well as in the exhausted workers of the factory or mill districts. In 1898 the Supreme Court sustained state legislation providing an eight-hour day for miners because of the evidence that long hours of labor in mines meant the poisoning of the human system, with consequent great evil to the general welfare. This was then an apparently specific exceptional instance; but "it is now demonstrable that the considerations which were on the surface as to miners in 1898 are to-day operative to a greater or less degree throughout the industrial system." It is the pace of American business, the watchword of which is "hustle." This is due partly to the stimulating effect of our climate, but mostly to false ideals of life. We assume that life is for work. We have not found out that work is for life. As far back as 1885 Henry George thus described this attitude: "Here is a man working hour after hour, day after day, week after week, in doing one thing over and over again, and for what? Just to live. He is working ten hours a day in order that he may sleep eight, and may have two or three hours for himself when he is tired out and all his faculties are exhausted. That is not a reasonable life; that is not a life for a

being possessed of the powers that are in a man, and I think every man must have felt it for himself. I know that when I first went to my trade I thought to myself that it was incredible that a man was created to work all day long just to live." We scorn those peoples of warmer climates whose cry is *"Manana"* —put it off until to-morrow; but we fail to see the folly of the opposite extreme, of developing conditions of work that drive the people to death. Whose duty is it to warn the nation against the consequences of fatigue and the perils of a low ideal of life? Is not this task a part of the home mission program whose goal is "to make America Christian"?

Fatigue and Health. The United States Supreme Court has recently been sustaining short-hour legislation because of the evidence presented to it concerning the effect of fatigue upon national vitality. This evidence has gathered the experience of the whole world. The united judgment of all who have studied the question in all industrial countries is that fatigue is the chief source of disease. It lowers the resistance power of the body; and health depends not so much upon freedom from exposure as upon ability to resist the attack of disease. In the dangerous trades it is the workers who are overfatigued who more readily succumb to occupational diseases. In the less dangerous trades the common phenomena of fatigue and exhaustion create a permanent predisposition to disease and premature death. The statistics of all countries which have recorded the hours in which industrial accidents occur show that the number tends to rise after a certain number of hours of work. "The number of acci-

dents is usually the highest during the penultimate hour of work when muscular control and attention are at their lowest." Because health is one of the foundations of the state, because the loss of human life and the increase of disease by excessive working hours is a serious factor in depleting the general prosperity of the nation, the modern industrial nations are moving against overwork and are checking fatigue by law. Driven by the need for shells on the firing-line, Great Britain speeded up its munition industries, suspended labor regulations, and introduced the seven-day week and the long-hour day. But recently a government committee on the health of munition workers, after investigating the situation, secured the cessation of seven-day work, the restoration of the short day, and frequent rest periods. The first and conclusive reason for the change was that overtime work resulted in exhaustion and sickness and so in a decrease of production. An immediate increase of production justified this diagnosis.

The Third and Fourth Generations. The sins of the fathers who permit excessive labor are visited upon the children unto many generations. From a national standpoint the most deadly consequence of fatigue is its exhaustion of the capacity for strong motherhood. Summing up the experience and testimony of England and Germany, the Massachusetts Committee on the Labor Question declares that "if the commonwealth has interest in securing a healthy and intelligent posterity," it must check the hours of labor for females and children in the mills. The progressive deterioration of succeeding generations of factory

workers is shown by their inability to pass the enlistment tests both in England and here. England had to reject more men in the Boer war than in the Crimean war. Switzerland found fit only 26 per cent. of nail-makers, and 21 per cent. of buckle workers. Overwork before marriage has a disastrous effect upon the next generation. A study of 172,365 Italian working women between the ages of 15 and 54, employed in industrial occupations, showed an average child-bearing of only about one third of the fertility of all Italian women. Moreover, the record shows that the children of exhausted workers are below the normal in size and weight. "The death-rate is high among children of women who have overworked during girlhood, as well as among children of working mothers." The high infant mortality of the factory population is proved by investigations in this country and abroad. In the British textile trade the women are protected by a ten-hour day and a fifty-five-and-one-half-hour week; yet the average infant mortality (1896 to 1905) in textile towns was 182 per 1,000 infants, and it went as high as 208; while in non-textile towns the average infant mortality was 150 per 1,000. After one English town became a mill town, the infant death-rate rose from 143 to 229, and the birth-rate fell from 39 to 27 per 1,000. In the mill towns of the United States, with no such protection of women from fatigue as England provides, a still higher infant mortality is found. In 1910 a comparison of certain selected cities with typical New England mill towns shows a death-rate of infants under one year per 100 deaths at all ages as follows:

Chicago 21	Biddeford 27
Boston 19	Lowell 29
New York.....21	Lawrence 35
	Holyoke 35

Says an American physician, "So long as mothers work in factories, so long will babes go to their graves." A young textile worker, describing the nerves of the mill girls working for ten hours in one of our states, said, "If we do not get shorter hours for the young girls soon, there will not be much left to save."

Breaking Down the Home. What home life is there for a man who works twelve hours a day or for a man who comes home after ten hours' work utterly and completely exhausted? Says a German economist,—and they are not sentimentalists,—"Such a man is deprived of the benefit of the first school of morals, which is the home." Family life, the foundation of the nation, is destroyed by overwork. There is no time nor energy to care properly for the interests of children. The home becomes a mere place to eat and sleep. The agencies which the community provides to strengthen the family cannot be used by those whose energies are exhausted to the point of fatigue. The public libraries, the lectures, the recreation centers, make but an inefficient appeal to an exhausted group. If the church and the community would save the home, they must look to the hours of labor.

Fatigue and Morals. Just as fatigue lowers the resistance power of the body to disease, so does it lower the resistance power of the will to evil. It breaks down those defenses which nature has provided here,

as in the physical system. Continual excessive labor results generally in moral degeneration. In the overworked groups there is the largest consumption of alcohol, and there, too, the sex instinct is coarsened, depraved, and brutalized. The greatest whisky drinkers in the country are said to be the longshoremen who work day after day in the grain hatches of the wheat steamers in a thick, rising dust with sponges over their noses to protect them against the stream of grain that sprays off their paddles fifteen or twenty feet away as they push the wheat into the corners of the hatch. The Lackawanna Steel Company has been working its men seven days a week. With a population of 16,000, the town of Lackawanna has from 138 to 162 saloons. Nineteen of them stand opposite the gate where the men come from the mill. "After weeks of overstrain without a day of rest," says the pastor of the only English-speaking church there, "it is natural for the men to get beastly drunk. They sometimes go straight from the pay window to the saloon and spend all their wages before they leave it." John Fitch, writing of the steel-workers, says: "The only men whom I found in a state of intoxication when I looked for them in their homes were blast-furnace men—men who had been working for months without a holiday or a Sunday." The experience of the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago shows that girls who are overworked during the day drift more easily toward wrong-doing in the evening. So overwhelming, conclusive, and abundant is the testimony from England and Germany and from this country, concerning the relation of overwork to temperance and

to morals, that the English economist Hobson declares that drink and other sensual excesses are the normal reaction of the lowered morale that comes from fatigue. He therefore declares that "fatigue ranks as a main determinant of the character of the working classes." How then shall the churches lead the toilers into a higher moral life without dealing with fatigue?

Long Hours and the Church. The writer once asked a twelve-hour, seven-day steel-worker whether he went to church. "Let me tell you," said he, "when I was a kid I used to like to go to Sunday-school twice, Methodist in the morning, Baptist in the afternoon; but since I've been at work in the steel-mill I haven't been to church for so long I wouldn't know what to do if I got there." A study of the religious activities of twelve-hour communities shows that neither the authority of the Roman Church, the fervent appeal of the evangelical pulpit, nor the many-sided religious, social, and recreational activities of the Young Men's Christian Association can secure any decided response from the apathetic, jaded workers. Those who are eager to build churches and get the industrial workers to come to them must find a practical meaning for that great saying of the Master, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest," before they can develop its full spiritual content.

What About Religion? Professor Steiner says that when he was working ten hours a day in a Pittsburgh steel-mill, the worst result was the condition of apathy that settled upon him. "If any one had given me a

ticket for a symphony concert, I would not have gone," he declares. Raymond Robbins says that when he worked twelve hours a day in a coal mine, the only thing he wanted to do with his evenings was to spend them in the saloon with the boys and throw two or three beers under his belt and forget that he was a dog. An Indiana preacher recently spent his vacation working in a steel-mill; he says the prejudices he had entertained against the United States Steel Corporation were somewhat dissipated by his experience. He thought the wages were good and the treatment considerate; but he considered the long hours a genuine complaint. "While some have an eight- or ten-hour day, many are on duty twelve hours and, with the going and coming, are kept from home fourteen hours a day. With time deducted for sleep, they are left with two hours to be men, to cultivate human interests, to make love to wives and sweethearts, to play with their children, to learn to make good citizens, to take part in public affairs, and to know something of the foreign interests of the big world beyond." With these interests eliminated from life, what has religion to appeal to? On what basis can it be developed?

Who Suffers? The two groups who suffer most from fatigue in this country are women workers and unskilled immigrants. The latter group constitutes a specific field of home missionary endeavor. One of the avowed purposes of Christian work is to teach them a higher use of the rest-day than that which obtains on the continent of Europe. Another home missionary purpose is to improve the home life of these

people. But what is American seven-day work teaching them? What does the twelve-hour day do to the home? Recently in Philadelphia (February, 1917), 2,000 unorganized sugar workers struck. They were mostly Poles and Lithuanians, with a few Russians, Germans, and Italians. Only a few were able to talk English. Their first demand was that the day be cut from twelve to ten hours. The company pointed out that it was impossible to work in ten-hour shifts. It meant leaving the sugar in the vats for four hours a day. They were unwilling to arrange for three eight-hour shifts. So the men continued to work twelve hours a day, and some of them for seven days a week.

The Seven-day Week. The seven-day working week is the most deadly producer of fatigue. It is forbidden in the first labor legislation on record, that of the ancient Hebrew law. The commandment demands a day of rest for all the workers, including even the foreigner and even the dumb beast. Yet there are now close to a million men in the United States working continuously seven days a week the year round unless they take a day off at their own expense and lose a day's pay from what for most of them is but a meager income, insufficient to provide properly for their families. This work is being done mostly in the continuous industries—industries like the blast-furnace section of the steel trade, which must run without cessation to be profitable. A partial list of continuous industries includes steam and electric railroads, ice and milk delivery, telegraph and telephone, newspapers, blast-furnaces, paper- and pulp-mills, heat,

light, and power plants, and personal service in hotels and restaurants, drug-stores, and barber-shops.

Who Is Responsible? If a blast-furnace stops, it takes forty-eight hours to start it up again, and two days' work is lost. Because a blast-furnace or a sugar factory or a glass-house must be run continuously is no reason why human beings must be worked continuously. It is not necessity but the desire for profit that drives here. It is not the social welfare of the community, but merely the urge for dividends. When the Lackawanna Steel Company asked for exemption from the one-day's-rest-in-seven law in New York state and admitted that it had not been obeying the law, the pastor of the only Protestant church of Lackawanna said that the company officials were asking for something they did not believe in, for they had often told him of their desire for a six-day week and an eight-hour day. He could only conclude that they were asking this because they were obliged to do so as representatives of the stockholders. Some of the latter were supporters of the benevolent enterprises of the church. They knew nothing of the seven-day week. What agency should have informed them?

Is It Necessary? A great deal of continuous work is in those occupations that minister to the public necessity, convenience, and comfort: the trains, the hotels, the drug-stores, the newspapers, the telephone exchanges, the telegraph offices. They employ a huge army of seven-day workers. Much of this work could be reduced if the public would modify its selfish habits and unreasonable demands. The remainder, that which is socially necessary, does not require anybody

to work seven days a week. It is simply a question of an extra shift of workers. It means higher labor cost and less profit. But this is infinitely preferable to the degeneration of the workers by continuous toil. We properly protest against the Continental Sabbath, but it does not involve all the social consequences of the American industrial Sabbath. Because her clear mind saw these consequences, France long ago protected both her workers and the national vitality by passing a law forbidding more than six days' work in any week. Some of our American states have recently been concerned with the passing of a similar law. This movement has been promoted by the Federal Council of Churches and the American Association for Labor Legislation.

The Will of the Workers. When the International Paper Company petitioned the Industrial Commission of the state of New York for exemption from the law which requires that every workingman shall be given one day's rest in seven, it argued that the men preferred to work continuously. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, was represented by the Rev. Charles Stelzle. He argued that when a man actually preferred to work a seven-day week, it was either because his wages were so small that he thought it necessary to work in order to earn a "living wage," or because his finer sensibilities had become so blunted that he did not realize the harm he was doing himself. At the hearing of a similar petition from the Lackawanna Steel Company, the pastor of the English-speaking church answered the statement of the company that the men—unskilled immi-

grant workers—wanted to work seven days a week. He said that a great many of them were feverishly working and hoarding up their wages in order to go back to Europe to farm in comfort. "These men will go back and spread abroad the tale of their twelve-hour day and seven-day week, but I am enough of a patriot to rebel against that's being the reputation that America is to build for herself among the peoples of Europe."

Another Kind of Home Missions. There is a further question: What word will these men take home about American Christianity? A business man stood day after day on the deck of a steamer bound for Naples and looked down at the returning Italians in the steerage. "What are you thinking of?" asked his friend. "I am thinking," said he, "that these are the real missionaries whom we are sending to Italy. What message will they bear?"

The Long Day. While the continuous week is the first source of fatigue, the long day is the great cause of it in this country. The census of 1910 shows that five great industries among others in this country were employing men seventy-two hours and over per week. That is the price of our sugar and molasses, of our steam, of our ice, our gas, our glucose and starch. For proportions running from 57 to 95 per cent. of all the workers engaged in the production of these commodities, the twelve-hour day obtained. According to the same census there were thirteen industries employing men more than sixty hours a week in proportions running from 23 per cent. to 96 per cent. of the workers. That is the price we pay for our butter,

cheese, and milk, for our paper and wood-pulp, for our flour-mills, and for our coke, petroleum, and salt.

Some Significant Facts. In 491 stores in Chicago which were open six full days a week, winter and summer, women frequently worked seventy hours a week, with Sunday afternoon extra twice a month. A railroad engineer recently took his life in a period of unbalanced mentality after he had been forty-five successive working days at the throttle. A freight conductor recently told me that he had just finished over fifty-six days' continuous work, and said he was better off than most of the men, for he had been over twenty years in the service and had the preference of seniority which gave him the easier runs. The *Railway News,* writing in defense of working conditions on the railroads, says that only one employee in five on an average last year was compelled to render excess service during any one day in the whole year, and the total number of cases of excess service from all causes reported was only 61,247 during the year ending June 30, 1915. This means continuous service in excess of sixteen hours, for that is the point set by federal statutes beyond which the record must be kept. This twelve months' record is submitted as proof of the rare occurrence of long hours. But no one knows the amount of work that fell just short of sixteen hours. An investigation of over a thousand waitresses showed that 20 per cent. were working twelve hours a day, that 58 per cent. were exceeding the fifty-four hour limit for women in factories and mercantile establishments, that one third do not have one day's rest in seven, that the great majority were not even allowed

time off for meals, but "must grab 'em any way you can." When do these workers get to church? How does the church get to them?

Is It General? Twenty-eight states allow children under sixteen to work more than eight hours a day in stores and local establishments on the mistaken theory that children's work in stores is not detrimental. Nineteen states allow these children to work at night, and sixteen have no fourteen-year limit for such employment. Little girls under twelve are still working eleven hours a day in cotton-mills. In one mill which is interested in their welfare they go to school from six to twelve o'clock, and work from twelve to six, excepting lunch time. This is only one phase of child labor, but it is a good example of the thousands of child workers whom the state laws neglect. The result of the Springfield Survey indicates that the long day may be a national tendency and not simply a bad condition in a few great industries. In that city 85 per cent. of the workers investigated, or 3,981, worked nine hours and more a day. Only 13 per cent. of them were unionized and worked eight hours a day or less. There was a good deal of seven-day work discovered. How long do clerks work in stores in small country towns? What are the continuous hours of labor for the men who harvest the crops—those seasonal laborers who follow the trail of the wheat clear from Kansas to Canada? How does the country church reach them?

Monotonous Occupation. Fatigue is also a question of monotony. Our great standardized industries with their efficiency methods often provide a man with one

automatic act which he must continually do. In the Chicago stock-yards a few men stand for hour after hour and do nothing but stick a knife into the jugular veins of passing pigs. In the Ford plant a man stands and puts one attachment to the car body as it passes him and then gives it one tap with a hammer to hold it in place. But the management of the Ford plant recognizes the effect of this automatic labor upon the nervous system and keeps a man at that piece of work for only two weeks at a time. It then provides him with necessary relief by a change to other work for two weeks. The National Women's Trade Union League, voicing the experience and judgment of workers in many trades, declares that forty years ago Massachusetts passed the ten-hour law as a health measure, but under the present system of speeded-up industry, the eight-hour day would not bring the same measure of relief that ten hours did forty years ago. A physician who has had wide experience in factory investigation declares that in occupations involving much hazard, such as dusty trades, six hours should be the maximum. "My girls cannot come to the week-night church gatherings," said the Italian pastor in a small Middle Western city. "They have no part in the interdenominational life of the young people of the other churches. After standing ten hours in the woolen-mill they are too tired to go out." What, then, should be the attitude of the churches toward the women workers' demand for a universal eight-hour day?

Speeding Up. Another cause of fatigue is "speeding up." The necessity of keeping pace with the ma-

Loyalty badges denoting the desire for justice to the downtrodden, have led to the latest form of child labor. Children ranging in age from five to ten years help their mother to make loyalty badges at three cents for twelve dozen. The baby is three months old.

Courtesy of National Child Labor Committee.

chine set at a certain rate, or with the standard set by the piece-work plan or the efficiency system works havoc with the nerves and health of the workers. The quickest girls, who are given a bonus to set the pace for the shop so that the wage can be cut by increasing the work required, do not long stand the pace. They soon break down and pay the price of their ambition, which has been cunningly made the instrument of their destruction. Said one such girl, at 27 a physical and nervous wreck supported by others: "I thought I was smarter than the rest. Now I see that, like a fool, I ruined myself and hurt the others." The human system was built to live outdoors; it was not made to stand the noise, the clatter, the dust, the bad air of indoor machine work. Its rhythmic motions, both of muscle and nerve, are keyed in a different pitch from that of the machine, and when the pitch must be changed to keep pace with the mechanism driven by steam or the electric current, something gets out of gear or breaks. The men who work under the efficiency system do not regard it as do those who are well paid to install it, or those who get increased production and more profits from it. Says one of them: "I'll never work again where there's an efficiency system if I can help it. It's too much strain to feel that you've got to turn out so much work in so much time. You're always on the jump." This nation has yet to discover that a man is "worth more than a sheep," that to make the greatest number of articles in the smallest possible time at the lowest production cost is not the highest ideal of industry. The church is charged with spreading the gospel of

"life more abundant" for all the people. How shall it be made real in every respect for the industrial workers? This problem home missions is now facing.

In June, 1917, the Women's Trade Union League found it necessary to protest to the Secretary of the Treasury because government establishments, notably the Bureau of Engraving and Printing and the Government Printing Office, had been operating with excessive overtime, amounting to twelve hours a day and seven days a week, for several hundreds of employees, among them many women.

Winning a Rest-day. Obviously the first duty of the forces which are trying to carry the church to the toilers is to secure for them one day's rest in seven. "The worker doesn't need more labor laws; he needs more God," says a prominent church leader. But the old Hebrew law believed that one way to give him more God was to give him one day's rest in seven. In this way God was put into his consciousness through his working experience, and we may well follow that example. Those who sit easy in church while others work for their comfort or for their profit will do well to remember that Jesus called those who did the same thing in his day nothing but "whited sepulchers."

The Same Job. When the missionary goes into a frontier community, the first thing he does is to hold religious services and to generate some respect for the sacred day of rest. In such a community, which had previously known no law of God or man, the leading spirit one day declared: "We must have a Sunday-school to keep up with ————" (the rival neigh-

boring settlement). They organized it, and at the opening session a man was suddenly called on to pray.

"But I can't pray."

"Pray, damn you, pray!" was the command.

Out of such conditions home missions produced law-abiding, religious communities. When the church goes into an industrial community with its great group of unskilled, ignorant immigrant workers, the task is fundamentally the same; it merely takes another form. The evils of the frontier community—liquor, gambling, immorality—the heroic leaders of home missions have heroically and uncompromisingly attacked. These evils the church still fights in the industrial community. With the same fearless spirit it must move against such industrial wrongs as the seven-day week. Many immigrant workers, if they do not have to work, spend Sunday largely in carousing. To attempt to prevent by law what they have long regarded as their right, and then to make no effort to prevent them from being worked excessively, will not commend our religion to them. We have been protecting the day with our Sabbath laws: we must now protect the men. Then we can teach them not simply to observe the day but to use the day for their souls' health.

A Religious Duty. The short-hour day is just as much a religious necessity as the six-day week. The effects of fatigue that have been described—the increase of drink and vice, the smothering of religious interest, the destruction of home life, the breakdown of the health of the workers, and the lowering of the vitality of the nation—come in largest measure from

the long day. They develop after the six-day week obtains. Consequently when the men through their organizations demand the eight-hour day, when the women come asking for it in forty state legislatures and in Congress, it is an appeal to the forces of religion. Overworked people cannot properly participate in the life of the family, the nation, or the church. If we are to develop a Christian family, a Christian church, a Christian nation, we must protect the workers from the effects of fatigue. Of course, shortening the hours of work will not automatically produce religion, but it will give religion room to develop. The churches will then face the opportunity and responsibility of teaching the workers how to use their leisure time.

A Further Task. Jesus called the people to him to get rest. He declared that he came to give them life and more abundant life. It was rest for the purpose of getting life. The cultivation of life depends upon leisure. There must be time and strength left over from bread-and-butter activities to pursue the discipline of culture. This is now denied to great groups of workers. They have no access to the agencies for culture provided by the community, because they are too tired to take advantage of them. Says a New York garment-worker standing by his machine, "If I'm thirsty, they'll give me a drink; if I'm hungry, they won't let me starve; but now when my mind is hungry for knowledge and my mind is thirsty for learning, who will give it to me? Wise men tell me to go to night-school, but did they ever try going to night-school after working ten hours a day?" Are

there any young people in your community too tired to attend mission study classes?

The Task Begun. In all our important manufacturing industries the hours of labor have tended slowly but steadily to decrease. The working time used to be as long as men could see, either in the field or the factory, and as long as they could stand, either in the mine or the mill. Recently five states and the District of Columbia have established an eight-hour law for women and the Supreme Court has sustained them. Five other states have created by law a period of rest for women from 10 P. M. to 6 A. M. One state has recently ordered the ten-hour day for men, and Congress has set eight hours as the standard for railroad engineers and conductors. In the past twelve months many employers have adopted the eight-hour work-day, affecting hundreds of thousands of men. By private initiative and by legislation this movement must be pushed until it reaches the standard set by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America: "the gradual and reasonable reduction of the hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and . . . that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life."

Some Consequences. It has been established beyond peradventure that the shortening of the work-day has resulted in commercial prosperity. When Massachusetts first reduced hours from eleven to ten, the result was increased production. In general industries, with only one or two striking exceptions, the reduction of the hours of labor has meant larger output. The steel-workers of England temporarily bore

the cost of changing from twelve- to eight-hour shifts to prove to the managers that it was profitable.

An American corporation which manufactures tools decided that the reason for its difficulty in hiring and keeping men was that its work was hard, laborious, and tiring. On December 4, 1916, it reduced the hours from 57½ to 52½ per week and so adjusted the rate of pay that the wage was slightly better than on the old basis. In March, 1917, the secretary reported: "The results speak for themselves. The men felt better and appreciated our action. It is much easier to hire men than before. The weekly production in one of our worst departments, in spite of the shorter hours, has increased 18.4 per cent., and in the entire plant 10 per cent."

Last year another company reduced the working week for the 7,000 men in its seven shoe factories from 55 to 52 hours. An exhaustive study of results after four months' operation showed that the daily production unit per employee not only did not decline as was feared, but has actually increased. The report concludes: "Long working hours are not only an economic loss to the community as a whole; even inside factory walls there is no net profit in running on a schedule of much over eight and one half hours per day."

The testimony is equally clear as to the increase of health and morals. Workers in the short-hour trades consume less liquor per capita than the long-hour trades. Short hours have never in the long run meant more dissipation. They have invariably raised the standards of living. Always the succeeding genera-

tion of workers has shown extraordinary improvement in physique, intelligence, and morals. The first use the printers made of the eight-hour day was to establish a correspondence school in the artistic aspects of their craft. So clear is the case that the Factory Inspectors of America in convention assembled declared that scarcely any movement of the century overshadows the shortening of the hours of work in importance for the moral and material welfare of society.

The Limits of Law. Law can be used to prevent fatigue. For its own protection, the nation can fix the length of the working day at the point where fatigue endangers community health and morals. This is not the breaking-point, as one far-seeing labor leader points out, but the point where the limit of elasticity is passed. In the testing of steel, where the breaking-point can be calculated, the danger point is found to be about half-way to breaking. The precise location must be determined for men and women as well as for steel, through experiment in the effects of overstrain. This danger-point is the limit of action for the law, and laws can be broken or evaded. But where the law ends, the gospel begins.

The Call of Brotherhood. The gospel that teaches us to love our neighbor as ourselves calls to us to share with him the opportunity for all the development of life. The groups of workers at the bottom of society, already weakened by overwork, often inheriting its effects from generations before them, are not able alone to emancipate themselves from its pressure. It is a challenge to the intelligence and strength

of the churches to discover how the hours of labor can be reduced to the point where it is possible for this group to gain development and culture. The gospel teaching of brotherhood requires that work and leisure must both be shared, that there must be a brotherhood of toil and a brotherhood of culture.

A New Spirit. It is clearly the present duty of the churches to permeate society with this principle of brotherhood. To relieve the community from the burden of overwork there are three forces at work—the defensive power of labor organizations, the good-will of employers, the strong hand of the law. All these the church can aid and stimulate. But after all it is a new spirit that industry needs, the spirit that Jesus revealed in his life and death—the spirit of service—which will lead the strong to share life with the weak and to discover the methods that will forever emancipate the workers from bondage to excessive toil.

III

THE PAY ENVELOP

Aim: *To show the religious nature of the demand of the industrial workers for increased income, in order that the church may recognize its missionary duty in regard to it.*

III

THE PAY ENVELOP

Working for Wages. "How much does he get?" It is a common question wherever business men congregate. It is not infrequently heard in other gatherings, even among preachers. The question used to be: "How much is he worth?" The change indicates the fact that most of the men who work in the business world are working for some one else. This is one of the results of the organization of industry into corporations. It means that for the great majority of workers, from the unskilled laborer to the man of high intellectual capacity and skilled training, there is a fixed income. Some draw wages and some take a salary, but the income of both groups no longer represents what they can make as in the old days of small independent, competitive business enterprises, but rather the supposed value of their services to the employing firm.

Even the president of the company is required to serve the stockholders with all his time and ability. He is not supposed to have any independent interest. A few years ago it was considered perfectly proper for him to make money "on the side," even out of his own corporation. But that practise is now generally regarded as unethical. The days of great adventure in money-making are ending; the old freebooting days, when strong men took what they found, are done.

A Significant Change. A man who draws a salary of $100,000 a year for managing a great business was recently reminded by a radical journal that even though he is a prominent man in the financial and civic life of his city, yet as much as any bundle girl in that store he is working for the heirs of the founder of his business. "They are your fellow employees," he was told; "would it not be well for you to recognize your duty to them?" Here is a twofold advance, holding great possibilities. The motive of service to an organization is exalted above the motive of unbridled gain, and this emphasizes the community of interest and the necessity of fellow-feeling between all grades of workers. Suppose now that the motive of service can be extended from the employing organization to the whole community, so that both those who draw salaries and those who get wages shall come to know that they are working for the public good and not primarily to make money for others! How would this tend to realize Jesus' teaching of brotherhood and service?

A Living or a Life. The reason that the size of the pay envelop or the salary check is a topic of compelling interest in social gatherings and in assemblies of preachers as well as in business circles, is because the fact of income is central in the life of the family. The home cannot start until there is money enough to provide for it. Whether or not it can maintain certain standards is finally determined by the size of its income. Around the pay envelop, the home life of the industrial worker revolves. It is to him what the prospect of the crop is to the farmer. It means

health or sickness, clothes and education for his children. It even means how much church life the family feels itself able to have. "We cannot come because our clothes will not let us feel at home," is the constant answer of the people of small income to the church visitor.

A Burning Question. The problem of family finance is a burning and a far-reaching issue. For many a worker who will live and die in his trade with a fixed income, it means first, "Can I afford to marry? Will my wage support a family in decency?" And then later when the children come, "How will we tide over this winter with our kiddies?" and later, "How will they be fed, clothed, and educated?" This is the tragedy of the pay envelop which is being acted week by week, month by month, in millions of homes all over this land, as the family income is being worked out into standards of living. The outcome of that tragedy in any family is of supreme interest to the community because it has to bear the consequences. In some cases the tragedy of the family income is because it is too big. It promotes luxury and degeneration. It means automobiles and joy rides and foolish dances into the small hours for the young people, with inevitable physical and moral weakness. For millions more the tragedy is that the pay envelop is too small. They must live constantly on the "poverty line," with never enough to satisfy their aspirations or provide efficiency of life. "Charley X is not here to-day," said a Y. M. C. A. secretary to an employer who grumbled that the workers wasted their money in drink and tobacco, "because he has

not a suit of clothes fit to go out in; and the reason is because he is trying to send his boys through high school, and the wages you pay will not permit it unless he stints himself."

What Is a Living? For some time now the students of labor conditions have been talking about a "standard of living." That means the measurement of family welfare in terms of income and expenditure. It means determining the amount of goods necessary to provide a family with a certain amount of well-being, and then the amount of income necessary to provide these goods. In these studies the size of the family has been arbitrarily set at five; a man and a wife and three children below the wage-earning period. This happens to be the average family for the great majority of Americans. Two standards have been set; one, a minimum standard of living; the other, an efficiency or comfort standard.

The Minimum Standard. The minimum standard means the amount that is necessary to maintain life at the bare level of physical efficiency. Below it "lies insufficient education, absence of decency and privacy, ill-ventilated rooms, unhandsome clothing, and food ill adapted for nutrition." It is so low that few families would be expected to live upon it. It provides only the food necessary for continued working, clothing enough to keep warm, changes to keep clean and avoid rags, the minimum of light and fuel, and the sundries necessary for house cleaning. No provision is made for carfare, funeral expenses, or insurance.

The Efficiency Standard. The fair, or efficiency, standard provides in addition some things for the de-

velopment of life and the satisfaction of normal desires: a varied diet and a complete amount of nutrition, clothing allowance for individual tastes and changes for Sundays and holidays, housing with one room to every one and a half persons, allowance for health and insurance and some simple recreation. Practically no luxuries are allowed, but minimum comforts are provided and all of the strict necessities are made possible. This standard sends the children to school, pays for medical care except in prolonged illness, and it means the very simple life.

What Does It Cost? To determine the cost of the standards of living we have the results of a number of investigations, three of them made by the federal government in different states. These results, compared with those furnished by half a dozen private investigators in different cities and by a number of writers who have popularized the various problems of making income stretch to family support, all tend "to the same conclusion—namely, that a family of five, a man, wife, and three children under fourteen, require from $400 to $600 to provide subsistence, and from $650 to $1,000 to insure efficiency. The variations are between different sections of the country, and between different cities and towns." But these estimates were made before the summer of 1914. To them must be added the rise in the cost of living due to the war. A recent investigation of the federal Department of Labor covering the actual cost of the major articles of food generally used by workingmen's families in different cities shows that an average of 27 per cent. has been added to the cost of these items

Under the relentless sun and dragging heavy bags, children in the cotton fields continue their monotonous, finger-benumbing task through the long day. A child of five will pick thirty pounds of the light, feathery bolls, and this is the beginning of years of incessant grind and great physical strain.

Courtesy of National Child Labor Committee.

of food. Other articles have become still higher.

What About Wages? The facts about wages are incomplete. They indicate, however, that in the manufacturing and transportation industries east of the Rockies and north of the Mason and Dixon Line, the adult male wage-earners receive in annual earnings:

One tenth under $325.
One fifth under $400.
One half under $500.
Three fourths under $600.
Nine tenths under $500.

The adult females employed in that section receive:

One fifth under $200.
Three fifths under $325.
Nine tenths under $500.
Nineteen twentieths under $600.

It is a fair conclusion that 10,000,000 wage-earners in the United States receive less than $500, and that the average income of 12,000,000 is only $500. The latest study in the distribution of income in the United States, by Professor W. I. King of the University of Wisconsin, concludes that 26.08 of the families receive less than $600. The 1910 census declares that the average wage of those working in manufactories is $670. This includes the high-salaried persons at the top—the directors, superintendents, and others. While wages have generally been raised as a result of the war, in only a few skilled trades has the increase kept pace with the added cost of living.

Workers on the Soil. The Federal Commission on Industrial Relations heard testimony concerning the conditions of tenant farmers in some sections, particularly in the South and Southwest, where wages are lower in industry than in the northern section of the country. This testimony showed conclusively that a

large proportion of the agricultural workers of the region were living on less than the minimum standard of nourishment. With tenancy increasing in our prosperous agricultural states, it means that there will be a lower standard of living for the children of tenant farmers than there was for the owners of a previous generation.

The United States Department of Agriculture reports the results of study of the labor income, including family supplies, of 3,935 farmers as follows:

579 or 14.7 per cent., less than $600.
2,106 or 33.5 per cent., between $600 and $1,000.
1,250 or 31.8 per cent., over $1,000.

Professor Paul L. Vogt concludes after a comparison with statistics of income for other groups that the farmer is faring better than the great majority of bread-winners in cities and is better off financially than the most numerous professional groups—the preachers and teachers. The United States Department of Agriculture also reports that the average wages per year, without board, for the farm laborer, in 1915 were $361.80.

Some Current Facts. Many people believe that because wages have been rising the condition of the wage-earners has been steadily improving. Professor King concludes that there has been a decline of "real" wages since 1900; that is, a decline in the amount of goods and well-being that can be secured by a given amount of wages. He declares that the lot of the worker is worse off than it was before 1900, and that the wage-earners have not shared nearly as much in prosperity as have the rich. It is the economic law that

wages always rise after prices and fall before them. The head of the Ford Social Welfare Department makes the statement that the value of real estate in Detroit jumped $50,000,000 for five years as a result of the Ford profit-sharing plan. This is one of the reasons why living expenses have so increased in Detroit that the workingman now receiving $5 a day finds that he cannot live as well as he could before the introduction of profit-sharing on $3 a day. Detroit, with its large automobile industry, is a high-wage town, yet its social workers in assembly recently declared that 75 per cent. of the families of its wage-earners did not have a "fair" standard of living.

Some More Facts. New York has paid big bonuses to the officials of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, which is building the new subway, but the muckers—the men who dig the clay and the dirt out of the excavation—have been receiving $1.50 a day. Later the rate was raised to $1.75, but this is completely inadequate to provide even a minimum standard of living for the average family in New York City. Here the community itself is employing men on contract at less than a living wage. The Youngstown Chamber of Commerce, in defending its town against the aspersions that came upon it because of a strike, lists nine cities in Ohio with their average wages. Youngstown appears at the top of the list with an average of $8.50 per week, while the lowest city pays $6.04 per week. These are census figures, but they do not show the real conditions because, in taking the average, they include proprietors, firm members, and salaried employees, some of whose salaries are more

in a year than the wage-earner gets in fifteen years. Dividing the amount paid in wages by the number of wage-earners gives $7.78 for Youngstown instead of $8.50, and it must be remembered that averages do not help the men who fall below them. As one labor leader is fond of saying, "You can't eat an average." After receiving two ten-per-cent. advances the common laborer still makes in Youngstown only $2.50 in a ten-hour day. This does not provide a fair standard of living.

What One Church Found. A men's Bible class secured positions for 175 unemployed men during 1916. It reports:

> Of the 175 positions, 45 were filled by married men with an average monthly wage of $48. The average wage for single men was $41 per month.
>
> Considering the present high cost of living, the facts revealed through our employment bureau indicate that the vast majority are receiving less than a living wage, a fact which is the principal cause of poverty.
>
> No wage can be adequate in the fullest sense of that term until it makes possible reasonable livelihood and economic and social standards.

Within the Church. The same class called for big brothers to help some of its 500 members meet their actual living expenses. It recorded the following:

> Mr. S———, married, five in family. Wages when working full time, $12.60. Expenses: food, $6 per week; rent, $2 per week; fuel, $1.80 per week; furniture on instalment plan, $1 per week; insurance, 75 cents per month; oil, 20 cents per week; water meter, 50 cents per month. No provision made for clothing, sickness, or recreation.
>
> Mr. T———, married, four in family. Wages $9 per week. Expenses: food, $5 per week; rent, $3 per week; fuel, $1.25 per week; furniture on instalment plan. No provision made for clothing, sickness, or recreation. This man is continually running behind. Collectors are constantly "dunning" him. Has a little baby which must have milk regularly.

Mr. P———, married, five in family. Wages $13 per week. Expenses: food, $7 per week; rent, $3 per week; fuel, $1.25 per week; gas, 25 cents per week; clothing on instalment plan, $1 per week. No provision made for emergencies. Has one little baby which has been sick much of the time.

It is unnecessary to state further cases at this time. The above will give you some idea as to how many of our members have to struggle in order to eke out a bare existence.

A Business Agency Reports:

The background of wage demands appears when we look over recent budgets. In the case of the Detroit street-car men a budget of necessary expenses for a workman's family consisting of himself, wife, and three children, recently showed $1,486 as the required figure. On the basis of this exhibit a maximum wage of 40 cents per hour was granted! Working ten hours a day for 300 days a man would thus earn $1,200 in a year. In Dallas, Texas, average expenditures in fifty workmen's families were $1,135 per year. Average income, with no allowance for loss of time, was $962. Necessities for a "safe, normal living" were estimated at $1,081. So long as this disparity between income and living costs remains, clients may expect continued labor trouble.

The Case of the Waitresses. Studying the waitresses of New York, the Consumers' League found that 87 per cent. of these women workers got less than $9 a week, which is the minimum on which a girl can live independently in New York. Even with food and tips added, the proportion of those receiving less than a living wage is 30 per cent. Of the kitchen and pantry hands who make up 28 per cent. of all the workers, one third receive less than $6, and three fourths less than $8 a week. This is in spite of the fact that a special dress is often required and that fines for lateness are customary. In almost every place mistakes and breakages are charged to the girls. It was found that 65 per cent. of those who had been at work less than a year received $6 or more a week and only 55 per cent. of those working over ten years get as much.

A Typical Situation. The Springfield Survey in a typical American community, not industrial, showed that low wages prevailed. The minimum for an unskilled male was $1.75 to $2. Women in laundries were getting $6 a week. Salesgirls in the five-and-ten-cent stores averaged $4 to $5 a week, but these stores employed girls living at home only. One girl who had worked seven years got $5 a week. The coal miners average from $2.62 for day-laborers to $5 or more a day for miners and leaders, but in 1918 the men worked only 181 days. The yearly income makes it impossible for many of these supposedly high-paid men to supply the average family with the minimum necessities of life. That this is indeed a typical situation is further indicated by the fact that studies of three of the leading industries of the United States show that a large proportion of the workers in them are not receiving an income sufficient to provide the minimum standard for the family. A fair conclusion of all existing wage studies is that approximately 50 per cent. of the wage-earners are unable to provide a minimum family standard of living in the small town, and approximately 75 per cent. cannot provide it in the large city. It means that of the families whose income is between $700 and $800, 30 per cent. are underfed, 52 per cent. underclothed, 58 per cent. are overcrowded.

What Does This Mean? This means that, eliminating inefficiency, drunkenness, and shiftlessness from the discussion, a large proportion of the population is living continuously upon the "poverty line," the line where income is barely adequate to provide the abso-

lute necessities, with nothing left over to meet the inevitable emergencies of life. It means that those energies which, if stimulated by a little more income, might go to develop a higher standard of living, are now used up in the constant struggle to prevent a deficit. The strength that ought to be available for the greater issues of life is going into the drudgery of getting enough to eat and wear and pay the rent, to keep the home going, and to raise the children. If sickness or unemployment comes, the family must be dependent on others. It is pushed down below the poverty line and often never rises again.

The Effect on the Family. Says Scott Nearing: "Below the standard of subsistence lies family dissolution, misery, want, starvation, disease and death. These inevitable things, following as night follows day, present themselves to the consciousness of the thinking wage-earner who looks toward the future." He is continually haunted by the shadow of fear that ever falls across the hearthstone of those who must live in the region of inadequate income. Says the New York Charity Organization Society concerning the wage paid the men in the subway excavation: "Health, education, morals—one or all are almost certain to break under such a wage. Sooner or later sickness, malnutrition, low vitality, or bad housing brings the family to charity for help." Even where the family has a fair standard of living, each child that comes drags it down toward the poverty line. Misery and want, lying in wait beside the threshold, will spring into the home if sickness, unemployment, or accident comes. The fact "that no matter how effi-

ciently or earnestly he may strive, many a sober, honest American workingman will be unable to maintain a decent standard of living for his wife and three young children," means that the children will have to be turned into wage-earners as early as possible, the wife in many cases will have to leave her baby in a day nursery or with a neighbor and go out to supplement the income. The home is thus destroyed, the family is broken to pieces.

The Effect on Child Life. The Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor has recently issued a report on infant mortality in the city of Manchester, New Hampshire. The study included all babies whose births were registered in a single year, where the families could be found.

"Nearly half of the 1,643 babies had fathers whose earnings were less than $650 a year, and more than one eighth of the babies had fathers earning less than $450 a year. Only one in sixteen (6.4 per cent.) had fathers earning as much as $1,250. The death-rate among the babies in the poorest families was more than four times as high as among those in the highest wage group.

"The mothers of 267 babies went out to work during the first year of the baby's life, and these babies had a death-rate considerably higher than those whose mothers worked at home or were not gainfully employed. The rate is especially high—277.3 per 1,000—among the 119 babies whose mothers went out to work before they were 4 months old.

"Low earnings on the part of the father appear to be the most potent reason for the mother's going to

work. Where the fathers earned less than $450 a year almost three fourths of the mothers were gainfully employed during some part of the year after the baby's birth. As the fathers' earnings rise, the proportion of working mothers falls until in the group where fathers earned $1,050 or over, less than one tenth of the mothers worked."

Additional Evidence. A bulletin of the United States Public Health Service reports a mortality of 24.8 for the infants of married female garment-workers as against 15.82 for the infants of married male garment-workers whose wives do not have to work out. It declares: "We believe that wages have a most important bearing upon the morbidity and mortality of any occupation, because, where real wages are high, the standard of living is correspondingly high, housing is better, food is more plentiful and more nourishing; and, in short, conditions are more favorable to physical and mental well-being, which results in greater resistance to disease, more recuperative power, and a healthier enjoyment of life, all of which stimulates the worker to preserve his health and makes him more alert to guard against accidents; whereas when wages are low, home conditions are of necessity unfavorable, and if shop conditions are also bad, as they frequently are, the hazards of any occupation are increased manyfold."

Who Suffers? The minimum cost of living for a single woman in the large cities is $8 to $9 a week, and the cost of an efficiency standard is $10 to $12, or slightly less in the small town; but all recent investigations lead to the conclusion that 60 per cent. of the

women wage-earners of the United States are receiving less than $325 annually, that 90 per cent. are earning less than $500, while only 5 per cent. are paid more than $600 a year. An investigation of budgets of thousands of working-girls revealed the fact that in order to live on less than a living wage, the saving is made on food. "I am sick to death of these ten-cent lunches," is the constant cry. "If only I could spend a few cents more and get a square meal!" The result of this undernourishment is the lowering of vitality; it means sickness and premature breakdown. It means using up the future motherhood of the country in making goods and profits.

The Immigrant Group. The assault of inadequate wages upon family life is largely borne by the immigrants who do our unskilled work. That they may have better standards of living than they had in the country from which they came is entirely beside the point. They may have more to eat and more to wear, but they live and work under more unhealthful conditions and at higher speed, and the lack of a standard of nourishment adequate to meet these changed conditions spells breakdown if it does not spell poverty. They may be able to save in money, but they are not able to save in health. Neither are they able to protect the morals of their children in the disintegration of family life that results from life in unfamiliar surroundings and the pressure of the street life of youth upon the family. Give the immigrant families sufficient income to maintain vitality, and many of them rise and take their place with the leaders of America; they make their significant contribution to our na-

tional life. Withhold the standard of living adequate to American needs, and their vitality suffers. They drift into sickness, dependency, and delinquency. They become a burden and a menace to the community, instead of its hope and promise.

Some Social Results. Individually the church constantly faces the lives which are starved and weakened by low wages. It earnestly seeks to minister to the spiritual and social needs of the immigrants. It must face now with equal intelligence and determination their economic condition. A study of the poverty map, the mortality map, the delinquency map of any city will show that the districts where the pay envelop is the smallest are also the districts where charity makes its constant calls, where the death-rate is highest, and in which the largest number of juvenile arrests is made. Here are the centers where disease, destitution, and delinquency breed and spread. Low income means undernourishment and bad housing. Undernourishment and bad housing mean weakened mothers and children. They make it easy for the saloon to succeed in its assault upon the fathers, and for the street with its gangs and its vice to break down the control of the mother over her children. A look below the surface of things in the survey of the city of Springfield showed clearly how low wages and irregular employment play into bad housing, child labor, destitution, neglected childhood, and the predisposition of families to physical and often moral breakdown. The knowledge of the same facts in New York led the social workers to ask that the city departments of charities and health and the police de-

partment should investigate wages, because workers in each of these departments have to deal with the results of low wages.

The Challenge to the Church. This same challenge comes to the people who are interested in the promotion of religion. If low income is a source of delinquency, if it leads to the breakdown of morals, the religious forces must be interested in the question. Investigations in several countries show that the armies of prostitution are drawn predominantly from the families of low income. This is not the result of a sharp choice between the low wages of virtue and the easy money and high living of vice. Delinquency develops not so much from an immediate pressure as from the gradual breakdown of the individual will and of family morale through the continuous pressure of monotonous employment, exhaustion, undernourishment, and the overcrowding of bad housing. Organized religion, especially through its home missionary activities, helps some individuals and some families to rise out of this situation, but the fight is too hard for the average individual. Nowhere in history has a high standard of religion developed among populations that have been forced by ignorance or by poverty of natural resources to live near the poverty line, to struggle arduously and constantly for the bare necessities of life. The culture of the mind and spirit demands adequate material resources; therefore the wise man prayed, "Give me neither poverty nor riches, but feed me with food sufficient for me." For that reason a leading English statesman says that the greatest social reform of all is to raise the income of the lowest-

paid group. The church people who are trying to help the poor find that their compassion leads them to other duties. Willing to provide relief, they are brought face to face with the necessity of permanently securing an adequate income for the low-paid wage-earners. Failing this, there is one of two outcomes to the situation. Either that section of the population which lives upon the poverty line, weakened by undernourishment, enfeebled by disease, corrupted by delinquency, drops down into a degenerate group like the slum-dwellers of some European cities, or else they break forth in revolution, and society is rent apart. To meet a situation of widespread low income with charity and churches, but without working out social justice, is to foster the destitution, disease, and delinquency which are weakening the foundations of the community house, and to develop the sense of injustice and the spirit of hatred which in the end will tear it down.

The Answer of Religion. One of the teachings of the Hebrew law was that the worker must receive an adequate maintenance. When Paul writes to Timothy he quotes this as though it were a constant custom. "The harvestman who labors in the field must be the first to get a share of the crop." The law required that even the dumb beast be properly fed. "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn." One of the purposes of the Hebrew law was "to make it impossible for any child to be born in poverty." It has been called "the poor man's charter." It constantly proclaimed that the humblest toilers must have an adequate living. They must be allowed to glean the

fields after the reapers and to gather the volunteer crop when the land lay fallow in the seventh year. At sunset the rich must pay their wages, that the laborer might not fall into debt and be forced to sell himself into servitude. All his debts must be canceled every seventh year in order that he might not be permanently enslaved, and for the same reason the slave who had worked out his term must be provided with means to make a new start in life. The Hebrew community sought to observe a higher law than mere "supply and demand," which justifies the buying of labor as cheaply as possible and constantly pushes the workers down to the lowest standard of living.

An Ancient Ideal. The legislation of the Old Testament sought to take the law of mutual aid by which the family lives, out into the work life of the community. It declared that the whole of life should be organized around kindness and brotherhood. It insisted that there was a higher law than competition and profit; and that first the life of the worker must be considered and after that the profit of the employer. This was religious statesmanship; it attempted to secure decent standards of living and the highest ideals of life for all the members of the community. The people looked for a day when every family should dwell under its own vine and fig-tree and none should hurt them nor make them afraid; when for all there should be security of possession in the necessities of life, and none should live in poverty. The first step to that goal is the provision of a living wage.

Can It Be Done? Says Mr. Practical Man, "This

can't be done. In the first place, there isn't enough to go around. In the second place many of the workers are inefficient. They do not earn their salt." The factor of inefficiency has to be reckoned with. It must be removed and our whole modern educational program and religious program aims to remove it. The effort to improve the conditions under which the workers live has the same goal. Workers must be made to earn their salt or they cannot be supported by the community. But there is a vicious circle here. Inefficiency means low income and unemployment. Low income and unemployment mean inefficiency, because they involve undernourished, untrained people. That vicious circle must be cut somewhere. The only place to start is to give the worker and especially his children the minimum requirements for efficient living, and then on that basis to build up the strength and ability which will return larger services to the community and develop for itself still higher standards of living and the ability to maintain them.

The Social Surplus. It is now some years since Professor Simon N. Patten wrote his book, *The New Basis of Civilization,* to show that mankind has at last conquered nature and is able to make it furnish an abundant living for all people. For untold ages civilization has been conducted on the basis of a deficit. There were not enough goods to go round and provide a fair standard of living for all. Now there is sufficient to feed all hungry mouths and provide proper clothes and shelter for all. When Nearing declared that there was sufficient income being produced in the United States to provide not a minimum but an

This Presbyterian Church, located in one of the most congested and cosmopolitan districts in New York City, was about to be abandoned, when in 1910 the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, under the leadership of Rev. Charles Stelzle, reestablished it as Labor Temple. Three years later, the Presbytery of New York assumed full responsibility through its Home Missions Committee.

Labor Temple in all its activities aims to interpret the Christian purpose as an organizing principle and effective power for the establishment of a new world. It stands for a thoroughgoing and constructive criticism of our present social and industrial order and gives, through its Open Forum, lecture courses and discussion groups, a hearing to all measures or programs of reform and advance that hold out promise for a better world. Within its broad program is included the American International Church, with pastors employing the English, Russian, Italian and Hungarian languages.

During the severe winter of 1913, Labor Temple was used as strike headquarters for the Jewish and Italian girls engaged in the white goods industry. Because of its sympathetic understanding with both sides involved, Labor Temple was peculiarly fitted to deal with the radical outbreak of the I. W. W. against the churches of New York in the winter of 1913-14.

efficiency standard of living for all families, his conclusions were doubted. But now comes Professor King and proves beyond a peradventure that enough income is produced in the United States to give $1,500 per year to every family living in the nation. Still the multitudes are underfed and underclothed. They build and do not inhabit, they sow and do not reap.

Another Problem. Of course the fact that we are now producing enough to give an efficiency standard to all families does not mean that all should be reduced or raised to that standard. It does mean, however, that the present widespread poverty is not due, as Mr. Practical Man thinks, to inefficiency in producing goods, but it is due to inefficiency in ethics. We are making enough wealth to keep all our people above the poverty line. What we need now is to achieve sufficient morals and religion to enable us to do justice. To diminish the hunger of the world, its ignorance, its disease, it is essential to work out justice in distributing the results of the common toil. If this is done, large numbers of families will be set free from the weakening effects of the inadequate pay envelop, still more will be spurred to greater efficiency by the fact of social justice, and the world's goods will be increased sufficiently to make possible for all a much higher standard of living than that measured by $1,500. The world has yet to learn the economics of Jesus: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and *all these things* shall be added unto you." An immediate advance in that search, securing a portion of the promised result, is a larger measure of justice in the distribution of the common income.

Who Gets the Surplus? The greatest reason why so many of the workers have not enough to live on is because others have too much. The increased wealth of the nation is not available to increase the life of the people. In 1896 Spahr showed that 88 per cent. of the people had less than 65 per cent. of the income. In 1910 King proved that the same number had only 62 per cent. of the income. Spahr showed that 1.6 per cent. of the people had 10.8 per cent. of the income. King says that the same proportion now has 19 per cent. of the income. The Federal Commission on Industrial Relations divides the people of this country into three sections: the rich, who constitute 2 per cent. of the population and own 60 per cent. of the wealth; the middle class, constituting 33 per cent. of the population and owning 35 per cent. of the wealth; the poor, who make up 65 per cent. of the population and own 5 per cent. of the wealth. The largest private fortune in the United States equals the aggregate wealth of two and a half million of those classed as poor. King concludes that 2 per cent. of the people own considerably more property than the rest of the population and that most of the wealth is in possession of one fifth, while four fifths must content themselves with the scraps from Dives' table.

Wages and Philanthropy. A weekly market letter concerning investments reports that a certain company which has been paying from 25 to 57 per cent. dividends in recent years is paying this year nearly 100 per cent. on the entire capitalization, after increasing it 250 per cent. by an additional issue of stock without cost.

A pastor reports that this company is paying its men from 28 to 39 cents per hour for a 48-hour week, the skilled American workers averaging 36 cents. This year they have had a 10-per-cent. bonus; but even after that, their income does not measure up to an efficiency standard of family living. Yet this company does some first-class "welfare work" for its employees. A similar discrepancy between profits and wages is evident for a number of leading corporations during war prosperity. A German iron and steel works, with a capital of 26,000,000 marks, made a net profit in 1916-17 of over 17,000,000 marks, paying a dividend of 24 per cent.

Some Contrasts. In some of the industries where girls are being paid less than a living wage, officials are receiving salaries of $50,000 to $100,000 a year. Does this indicate an attempt to answer justly the question, "What should be paid to brains"? You say there is a deeper question? Some of those same industries have recently paid dividends running all the way from 30 to 70 per cent. Does this indicate an attempt to answer justly the question, "How much should go to capital and how much to productive energy"? The average wage in 1914 in the manufacturing plants of this country, including all officials, was about $670 per capita. The value of the finished product per capita was about $3,000. Allowing a liberal estimate for the value of raw materials and all other overhead expenses, it appears that the workers, including the managers, received only about 40 per cent. of what they added by their actual labor to the value of the raw material. The rest was profit, claimed

as the earnings of capital. Nearing has shown that there is a larger part of the income of this country going to property owned than is going to service rendered. The fact of ownership now counts for more in this country than the fact of labor, including brains as well as hands. About $6,000,000,000 now goes to the account of property. This sum would raise to the efficiency standard of living 12,000,000 families whose average expenditure is $500 or less.

The Question for Religion. Here is an obvious condition of economic injustice. What does it mean for the missionary agencies that are seeking to help the suffering poor? In their work they are now brought face to face with the ancient fact of exploitation, the time-honored custom of the powerful to make the weaker serve them, to live wholly or in part off their labor. In such a situation our religion has ever had an aggressive message. The Hebrew law attempted to protect the producer against the possessor. The prophets thundered the message of God against those who wrought injustice. They cried their woes upon those who built their houses by unrighteousness; who oppressed the hireling in his wages; who built up their large estates and their fine mansions by encroaching upon the rights of the free people and impoverishing their lives. "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field." "They build up Zion with blood," cries Micah with bitterness.

Amos proclaims the fierce judgment of eternal justice upon those who stir up violence and robbery in their palaces, who "trample upon the poor, and take exactions from him of wheat," who "swallow up the

needy, and cause the poor of the land to fail." All the prophets declared that the rich could find no acceptance for their worship in the temple as long as these conditions obtained. This message Jesus fulfilled when he scourged with his condemnation the scribes and Pharisees because they devoured widows' houses with their mortgages and laid burdens upon the poor which they themselves would not lift, by religious requirements which added to their profit and the impoverishment of the workers. Is it then a part of the missionary duty of the followers of Jesus to carry his teachings into the working world until injustice is removed?

Creating the Crisis. When the workers demand a larger income it must be remembered that Christianity has had a large part in creating that demand. By its promotion of education it continually creates higher standards of life. One result of its preaching has been to make new needs. The African wants clothes, the miners in England desire books, and the foreigners in our own tenements receive new ideals. This situation is not to be met by simply showing some men how to move out and up. There is increasingly less room at the top. Only a few can be superintendents. Life must be made more bearable for those at the bottom. "Whosoever will" must operate in the working world as well as in the spiritual realm. Those who seek to spread such a gospel are making obligations for themselves to carry it to its conclusion.

More Abundant Life. The church cannot in good conscience arouse the people to seek a better life and then leave them to find their way by strife. Largely

through the inspiration and stimulus of religion the sons of immigrant farmers are thronging our church colleges and our state universities. Now the later immigrants in the cities are being moved with the same ideals. For them it will be a longer, slower task. There are more difficulties to overcome. For those who came first, nature had provided the opportunity to secure better standards of living. For those who come after, it will have to be provided by working out justice between men. As the church has helped provide the education for the more abundant life, will it now lead in securing for all the people the common brotherhood of love which is the obligation and ideal of the gospel?

Seeking for Social Justice. The spread of Christianity has done more than to raise standards of living and promote industrial unrest. It has stirred a quest for social justice on the part of the people who profit by injustice as well as those who suffer from it, the like of which has never before been seen in history. On the one hand there is the cry and protest of the working class and the movement of their own trade unions, gaining for them higher wages and shorter hours and securing increased efficiency of life. On the other hand there are minimum-wage laws passed by different states and upheld by the Supreme Court, writing into modern legislation the same principles that were underneath the old Hebrew law. Going beyond this there are numerous efforts of employers and investors seeking to express the standards of Christianity in industry. Many of these go far beyond philanthropic welfare work. They are gen-

uine attempts to realize justice and brotherhood.

Some Results. Recently a young preacher found himself compelled to arouse his community to the fact that some striking immigrant workers were not receiving a living wage. Not long after, one of the leading employers sent for the preacher, went over his whole business situation, and asked him what ought to be done about it. As a result he put in a minimum wage of $3 a day. Over 800 American firms are now practising profit-sharing. The search for justice is widespread in our modern industrial community, and it brings a new hope to the working world. It is a foretaste of that fuller cooperation which will remove all injustice, and bind men together as fellow workers in deed and truth.

The Task Practical. The churches which have helped develop this passion for justice must throw their weight behind the practical measures that express it. They can support minimum wage laws and the demand of organized workers for an adequate living. They may instigate profit-sharing. They can teach their people what justice means in terms of income. Should they not make uncomfortable those receiving income which has been made by the labor of others at the cost of low standards of living? If they tell their members to support home missions to carry the gospel to the people who toil and suffer, must they not show them how to change the conditions in their own lives that now block its approach to those workers? When a business man objected to the discussion of the living wage in the church, the preacher took him and showed him the sick girl who

had been working for him at less than a living wage and for whom the church was caring. He made him see that the church had been giving charity to his business. Then that man was willing to give a living wage and to support the minimum wage law.

The Final Issue. If social justice is to be accomplished, the people who now live in luxury will have to be content with a smaller income. Said a business man recently: "I have come to the conclusion that the folks at the top who sit in mahogany chairs will have to get along with less than they have had in the past." At the top of society, luxury produces the same human waste that poverty does at the bottom. It occasions disease, develops and creates false standards of living. The missionary spirit faces a task at both ends of society. Do the people in the church want to extend the gospel? Then must they do what the gospel requires, for its driving power is always its expression in deed. If Christianity is to reach those who suffer in the region of poverty, or those who are getting a bare efficiency standard by constant fight and in constant fear, it must show them its demonstration with power in the lives of those who profess it. Are the people in the churches who live in comfort willing to limit their own desires and needs in order to provide the means of development for others? Are they willing to enter the fellowship of the sufferings of Jesus? Only sacrificial service is redemptive. Nothing else will emancipate the people from poverty and the grip of Mammon, that they may be free to work out their salvation.

IV

WAR OR PEACE

Aim: *To show some of the facts and causes of the industrial conflict, in order to consider what is the duty of organized Christianity in regard to it.*

IV

WAR OR PEACE

A Piece of News. Soon after this nation entered the Great War, its newspapers featured a dispatch from Russia describing a mass-meeting of workingmen in Petrograd at which the United States was vehemently denounced and which ended in a demonstration against the American embassy. The cause of this agitation was a report that our government had executed a Socialist leader named Muni. The fact behind this report was that Tom Mooney, a labor leader, had been sentenced to death in a Western city, on account of a bomb explosion at a preparedness parade. The labor forces contended that he was innocent and was being "put away" because of his effectiveness in a very bitter labor conflict. A few days later new evidence came to light which indicated perjured testimony, and the Attorney-general and the presiding judge both requested a new trial which to date has not been ordered, despite the fact that the President's Commission has recommended it. But for the dramatic news from revolutionary Russia affecting the nation's war program, the majority of its well-to-do citizens would probably never have heard of the "Mooney case" which was stirring the labor world to its depths.

The Long War. This is an incident in the war which never stops. It has been going on since men

first began to work together. It bids fair to continue after governments have learned to settle their disputes by some other method than fighting. This long war is the strife between the producer and the possessor. In the modern industrial world it takes dramatic form in the conflict between capital and labor. History is full of the record of this struggle. The story of the Hebrew nation begins in the rebellion of that people against the labor bondage of the Egyptian oppressor. The Grecian world and the Roman Empire were rent in twain by slave revolts. Germany had its Peasants' War, England its rebel workers led by Jack Cade and Wat Tyler. To-day, underneath the placid surface of industry, the struggle continuously goes on, for the most part in silence and without bloodshed, but never without suffering.

The Nature of the Struggle. The world of work is organized on the basis of war between the "have's" and the "have-not's"—between those who have not a fair living and those who have more than is good for them. On the one side are the possessors seeking ever to increase their income, and endeavoring to effect this by keeping down the cost of production. On the other side are the producers who have little but their labor power. Unable to share in the ownership of the tools necessary for the making of goods, for the most part unable to acquire property, continually finding their incomes lessening in purchasing power, their constant effort is to push up the cost of labor. Here is the inherent antagonism, the underlying conflict in the world of work. It is similar to that which Lincoln saw forboding the Civil War, when he

declared that as long as an irreconcilable antagonism was at the heart of the nation there could be no peace.

Continuous Conflict. This underlying industrial conflict continually breaks out in actual strife. Only those who read the press of the labor world know how constantly the battle rages. There is no peace in the process of production. The goods necessary for life are made in the constant atmosphere of war. The slogan of the youngest labor organization is "Strike while you are on the job!" by which is meant that the men are to continue at work, but while working, are to injure the employer by every means in their power, short of open violence and the actual destruction of goods. Even in war time the miners in England struck because they saw the capitalists getting excess profits at their expense, and the munition workers of Berlin, despite all the autocratic powers of military rule, struck because of the lack of sufficient food. In the last few months in four states of this country there have been workers on trial for their life for participation in labor conflicts.

In September, 1917, 94 strikes were recorded in this country. In the five months preceding December, 1917, federal investigators have gone into 295 labor disputes, as compared with 52 in the previous five months. One of our visiting English commissioners declared that had England experienced as much industrial disturbance at the beginning of the war as we were going through, she would have been beaten before this.

The Mobilization. The armies of labor and capital are increasingly mobilized for conflict. There are dif-

ferent types of labor organizations and they are continually at odds among themselves, disagreeing concerning aims, policies, and tactics. There are various organizations of employers, also differing in goal and method. Gradually, however, the forces on both sides have been drawing together for a great struggle around a central issue. There has been evident for some time a widespread attempt of organized capital in the United States to crush organized labor. In the face of this common danger, differences between labor organizations are submerged. One explanation of the outbreak of the European War is that in at least two countries the workers were ready for revolt, and the government eagerly seized the opportunity to divert their attention. But for the commencement of the war, the United States would have entered into the greatest labor struggle of its history. The forces were mobilized on the grandest scale. Their equipment was ready. Their fighting spirit was up. Each was determined to win. The conflict has been postponed. It has not been settled. The two antagonistic groups still have their fundamental differences unreconciled. It is altogether probable that at the close of the European War the United States will see the greatest period of labor conflict it has ever experienced.

A recent decision of the Supreme Court which makes it unlawful for trade unions to attempt to organize workers whose employers have induced them to sign a contract not to belong to a union, adds fuel to the fires of unrest. One of the leading labor papers declares: "It is the opinion of men who have their fingers on the pulse of industry and who sense the tem-

per of the workers, that the battle between capital and labor is only starting."

Some Recent Battles. In the last few years the United States has seen three types of labor conflicts, involving three different kinds of labor organizations, but sometimes beginning where there was no labor organization whatever. The worst of these have occurred in the mining industry, in the Southeast, in the Middle West, and in the far West. This type of struggle has involved large armies of organized workers, and in one case practically developed into civil war, with machine guns and armored cars and pitched battles. Another group of conflicts has centered around the determination of the workers to secure the right of free speech upon the streets. In the Southwest and in the Northwest, riots, killings, and murder trials have developed out of free-speech fights. This kind of struggle, with fatal consequences, has occurred even in agricultural communities, but the two general types of labor war above described have appeared mostly in the mining and lumber industries. Both of them, it will be noted, are hard and hazardous occupations requiring men to work under abnormal conditions, one below the ground, and the other in camps away from home life and social influences.

Another type of struggle has occurred in the factory towns of the East and the Middle West. It is the spontaneous revolt of unorganized workers against conditions which they have found unbearable, usually conditions of wages. It is the insufficiency of the pay envelop which usually leads to this kind of outbreak. It occurs most frequently among immigrants. In

TYPES OF LABOR LEADERS

1. *Woman's Trade Union League Officers.*
2. *Captain Catsules. A leader of the Strike District of Colorado.*
3. *Strike Leaders at Lawrence, Massachusetts.*

© *Underwood and Underwood.*

three states in the last few years it has resulted in the killing of strikers, of innocent bystanders, and of men acting under official authority. To these conflicts in which loss of life has occurred must be added innumerable labor struggles in which there has been destruction of property and personal violence, where men have been beaten and injured but nobody has been killed.

A Missionary Challenge. It is significant for home missions that all these types of labor conflict involve people with whom the Protestant churches have little contact. All that many church people know of immigrant strikers is what they read in the papers. What they read is usually an account of the violence that has occurred. The result is naturally a judgment of condemnation. It is significant, however, that in the typical strikes investigated by the social service commissions of the churches, most of them accompanied by violence, it has been found that the workers were suffering injustice. These reports have condemned the violence that developed, but they have pointed out that the workers had wrongs which demanded the sympathy and action of the churches.

One Situation. Let us consider now a small strike of immigrant workers in which violence developed. In less than twenty-four hours after the strike was called there were battles between the strikers and the police. In two weeks there were three people dead, a dozen or so in the hospital, property had been destroyed, innocent people brutally assaulted by both sides. One young bride was killed as she leaned out of an upper window to watch, a lawyer was killed on

the street, a workman of uncertain identity was killed as he walked out of a saloon. Yet here is how it began: "We, the employees of the various departments hereafter named present the following amicable request, feeling reasonably certain that if you consider the conditions under which we are compelled to work, the prices which we are now compelled to pay for the commodities of life, or rather for the means of sustenance, you are bound to realize that our demand is fair and reasonable." There then followed five requests—not demands, but requests: a raise in wages, and the eight-hour day; fairness in discharging; humane and decent treatment at the hands of foremen, "instead of the brutal kicking we now receive without provocation"; twenty minutes' time for lunch. And then: "We make the above requests in a peaceful and amicable manner, without threats or violence, preferring to obtain what we deem is justly due us in a friendly and peaceable manner. We must, however, state that unless our request is granted within forty-eight hours, we will be compelled to strike." This was written in Polish, and translated by a Lithuanian photographer who made a faithful translation and did not soften the language of the strikers.

How Does Violence Develop? This does not sound turbulent and bloodthirsty, yet these same workers fifteen months before had been in a strike which attracted country-wide attention because of its violence and bloodshed, six men being killed. What then inflames them? Not simply the low wages, but according to an impartial investigation, the treatment of those who are set to enforce the law. A metropoli-

tan paper, the vigilant enemy of organized labor, reports that the police threatened to shoot to kill, if the strikers did not "get in! keep in! and stay away from the windows!" Organized labor, which had nothing to do with the strike, insists that it would be difficult to imagine a situation "more completely at variance with the ideals and fundamental principles of freedom and a republican government than the situation created by the police." The mayor of the town, according to his own statement, is attorney for the company concerned in the strike. The police as usual were reenforced by deputies hurriedly sworn in. The mayor emphatically endorsed their methods of dealing with the strike. These methods forbade the strikers even the right to look out of the windows or to circulate handbills upon the street. This brutal, repressive treatment, added to the facts of a low wage and increased cost of living, in which, the investigator says, "there is always dynamite," explains the violence.

An Underlying Factor. The investigator then digs deeper. He says the issue is primarily one of Americanism. In the common language of the street, "there are two classes of people in this town: white men and foreigners." "It's just these low-class foreigners," said a newspaper man. "It's not peculiar to this town; it's the way they act everywhere. Remember what a terrible time they had in ————? Same class of people, and they act the same everywhere." As a matter of fact, although the same nationality—more than 10,000 of them—was on strike for three or four months in the town referred to, the same investigator is authority for the statement that there was less violence

than at a county fair, except for that engaged in by police and detectives. Said one policeman, "It's just a case of these fellows making too much money; when they've got a little money in their pockets, they just have to get out and raise hell." "No, we are not saying that," said another; "these people are not getting enough money. It's on account of a lot of agitators coming in here and stirring up the foreigners." As a matter of fact the investigator found that the men had been getting for a full working year less than the lowest estimate made in recent years as absolutely necessary to support a workingman's family. The superintendent said his company was paying higher wages than those of others except one which was handling war orders, but this is small comfort for the hungry. Said a business man, "It's a case of the ignorant, low-class foreigner making trouble. This is an orderly, prosperous, and comfortable town. These fellows live over there by themselves and refuse to become Americans. They live in dirt and filth and hoard their money." The investigator suggested that it was a neglected part of the town where the immigrants were compelled to live, where insanitary conditions prevailed and the authorities did not trouble themselves about the matter. "Nothing to it at all," was the reply; "they live there because they like it. They prefer that sort of thing. Rents are high, but they prefer to stay there nevertheless." Here is the question raised for organized religion by that strike: If it had taught the Americans in that town to treat properly and care for their brothers, the immigrants, would this violence have occurred?

Community Results. Such a situation is war, and it involves all the horrors of war for the community. It develops the fear and terrorism of the iron hand. It leaves the hatred that follows after the exercise of brute force, no matter which side uses it, and usually both sides do use it. In such a community there are no neutrals. Everybody takes sides. The atmosphere is one of suspicion and exaggeration. Everything is distorted. Nobody can see straight. In such a town where the strike had reached the extent and intensity of civil war, a member of the citizens' committee was walking down the street one night ahead of a minister going home from prayer-meeting with one of his leading members. The so-called good citizen suddenly raised a club and smashed the window of the store of a lame immigrant cobbler.

"Oh, you shouldn't do a thing like that!" said the preacher.

"He's a damn sympathizer with the strikers, and that's what they'll get in this town and anybody else who raises his voice for them."

On the other hand men who want to work go in terror of their lives. The hatred engendered by such a situation lingers long.

The Evil Lasts. In a Western mining community where there has been a long and bitter labor conflict, a man with blistered hands and feet was recently working as a mucker on the 2,000-foot level. He was formerly a minister and twice mayor of the city, in which capacity he had prevented illegal acts of the mining companies against the strikers. Practically every other man identified with the labor side of the

conflict has been driven from the community because the big mine companies have closed all avenues of employment. This educated man, driven out of office and his profession, finally found a job as day-laborer with an independent company. "I'm remaining as a matter of principle and self-respect," he said; "the big fellows have cowed many men in this district and sent them away, but no man shall drive me out. It's great to live here, and to-morrow is another day."

A year and a half after a certain strike in which there was some violence but no loss of life, a former striker who had come back to his work was injured. He was being carried to the office of the company doctor when he recovered consciousness. The physician along with other officials had done the work of common laborers and helped the company to win the strike. "Where are you carrying me?" said the injured man. They told him. "Put me down. I'll die before I'll let that scab touch me!" was the answer. This is the situation which religion has to face. Industrial war generates brutality, fear, terrorism, and hatred. It develops a poison that runs through the veins of the community and makes impossible the development of the compassion, the charity, and the brotherhood for which Christianity is striving.

The Breakdown of Ethics. It is useless to talk of the ethics of war, for war destroys all ethical principles. It sanctions killing and theft. Under the plea of military necessity deeds are done which violate all standards of morality. The same condition obtains in a strike when once men's blood reaches the fighting point. Ordinary restraints cease to hold them. In

one strike in which most of the employers were prominent Christian men, a "red-light district" was practically established within the plant in order to satisfy and keep quiet the strike-breakers. On the other hand, strikers had their "educational committee," to dissuade people by the use of violence from going to work. As in war, both sides justify such tactics on the plea that they must win.

Most labor leaders continuously and sincerely counsel their followers against violence. They well know that it alienates the public sympathy that is necessary to the success of their cause. Yet the pressure of the conflict constantly nullifies their efforts. There are but few cases of conspiracy of violence in the history of the American labor movement. The most conspicuous is the dynamite conspiracy of some leaders of the structural steel-workers which culminated in the Los Angeles explosion and in the life imprisonment of those responsible. This criminal policy was the desperate and despairing tactics of a few men whose organization was being destroyed by organized capital. It is nowhere more severely condemned and regretted than in the labor movement itself.

The Breakdown of Law. In some of our industrial conflicts all the guaranties of liberty under our constitution have been abrogated. Martial law has been proclaimed and has replaced all civil processes. Those engaged in the strike have been denied the right of habeas corpus, of trial by jury, or even of communication with their friends after they have been arrested by the military authorities. In one notorious case the enforcement of the law was in the hands of

officials of the companies; they were judge, jury, and executioner. Concerning similar acts by the same companies in a later strike, the supreme court of that state said: "That a private corporation, with its privately armed forces, may violate the most sacred right of the citizenship of the state and find lawful excuse in the plea of industrial necessity, savors too much of anarchy to find approval by courts of justice. In another recent case the mayor stated on the stand, "The Commercial Club took my authority and gave it to Sheriff ————." The testimony showed that the deputies were lined up at the Commercial Club and there given such oath of office as they took, that clubs were bought by the Commercial Club and guns kept there. Its minutes show that the doctrine of the open shop, which the Commercial Club was fighting for, was presented at meetings of the deputies who were supposed to be impartially representing the state. All this happened before any members of the labor organization involved had violated any ordinance or law, had resisted arrest or used violence toward any citizen or officer.

So far has this process gone that a most conservative judge of the supreme bench of a conservative state warns the people that if it continues there will be no liberty left to the people of the United States. It is a matter of record that indictments have been secured by grand juries which have been especially picked from those who were openly antagonistic and hostile to the labor organizations involved. In one case a special judicial district was created in order to have the strike leaders tried by a specially appointed

judge. With a specially selected jury, a labor leader was condemned to life imprisonment by that judge. He has since been liberated, and the judge has confessed error in the case.

Is Justice Blind? In several recent labor conflicts not only strikers but innocent bystanders have been brutally assaulted and even killed by guards or deputies employed by the corporation. In only one case have these been brought to trial. Labor leaders have been properly tried and punished for deporting other rival labor leaders, but no capitalists have been tried and punished for deporting labor leaders, though this has been done in several notorious cases. In July, 1917, at Bisbee, Arizona, 1,186 strikers were herded into cattle- and box-cars by an armed mob and dumped out in the desert. The President's Commission reports that this was without justification either in fact or in law and recommends that the responsible law officers of the state and county pursue appropriate remedies. The governor says that he has requested the attorney-general of the state to act, and that official fails to act.

Recently in a labor conflict a prominent churchman publicly stated that the way to settle it was to send a few ambulance-loads of strike leaders to the hospital. For saying less than that, strike leaders have been arrested and tried for complicity in murder, because of riot which originated in connection with a strike, when they were nowhere near the place at the time. Yet no charges were ever brought against that business leader for his inflammatory utterances.

The Deadly Result. The result of such cases is to

develop a deep distrust of the law among the industrial wage-earners. Labor papers constantly talk about the conviction of working people by "perjured, purchased testimony," about witnesses being "bribed or bullied." They declare that "big business" is prepared to go to any length in order to "railroad to prison" the open champions of labor. They chronicle the fact that the underworld is scoured for witnesses against them, and that their cases are tried by professional jurors. The result is a growing conviction throughout the labor group that democracy has failed them. In such a situation what becomes of Christianity, for is not democracy an expression of Christianity?

What About Religion? A study of church conditions in the mining regions where the great strikes have occurred showed a lamentable failure of religious organizations to approach the immigrant workers with the ministry of the gospel. The same thing is true for the immigrant neighborhoods where the spontaneous outbreaks of unorganized workers have blazed forth. If Christianity is to influence such a situation, the churches must support an aggressive home mission policy. This policy, however, must do something more than maintain church services. It must understand and reach the causes of industrial conflict before it develops into war. When the fight has once reached a certain point, religion finds itself powerless. No more than it can stem the war of the battle-field can it stay the hate of a labor struggle. For twenty years a preacher had proclaimed the social gospel. Some of his leading men were intent on crushing the local union. He urged them to conciliate the matter with

their employees. Once he succeeded, but again they determined to "break the union." Again he pleaded the case of the workers. But they said, "We must ask you to step aside. This is our undertaking and we are determined to do it." Religion had failed, but only for the moment. Two years afterward they came and admitted that he was right; the gospel had prevailed. But in war time it is powerless to achieve brotherhood. In time of strike the churches are divided among themselves and within themselves. According to their associations, some side with the employers and some with the workers.

The Religion of Brotherhood. If the church would be the peacemaker of industry, it must begin its work before the fight begins. It must study situations and conditions. If home missions desires to apply the gospel to the labor conflict, its work must be grounded in a patient study of the facts and problems of the industrial world, and in a continuous acquaintance with the workers. Its purpose is neither to excuse nor condemn, but to uncover and remove the causes of conflict.

Who Is Without Sin? In considering the violence of labor struggles it must be remembered that the lawlessness of strikers is only a part of the general lawlessness of the American people. Ours is the spirit of extreme personal liberty. We want to do as we please. Kipling says of the American individualist: "He makes the law he flouts, and then he flouts the law he makes." We pass laws apparently in order to break them. The workers have had a long education in lawbreaking and law evasion by watching the

methods of big business and its attorneys. "They made me break the law while I was at work for them," said a striker. "When I protested, they said it was a hell of a law anyway. Now I'm on strike, they want me to keep the law. But it's my turn to say 'To hell with the law.'" In one of the greatest labor conflicts in this country, five out of the seven demands of the strikers had for several years been guaranteed by the laws of the state, but the employers had been successful in defying or evading these laws. The anarchism of labor has grown up side by side with the anarchism of capital, but usually a little after it.

Getting Round the Law. In a strike of retail clerks in a great city, the employer said, "They're too lazy to work. They're the kind that are always hanging around the corners and laughing on the street. They don't know what they want. We always treat our girls right. We know the law." And upon the walls of the stores there were copies of the law giving the employees fifty-four hours' work for women, sixty for men, and one day off in seven. But the strikers say that they don't get what the law demands; that while they're off eating their lunch, the boss calls "Customer!"; that they have to stay after hours at night if there is a customer, and the day of the week on which they are supposed to be free, they are expected at the store. So the standards which are supposed to be settled by the law are now to be won by the strike.

Ignorance No Excuse? Not all of the lawlessness of ignorant immigrant strikers is intentional. In a recent case where the state law required that thirty days' notice should be given to the industrial com-

mission before a strike, this was not done. The governor, a prominent churchman, gave out a statement saying that the strikers were guilty of "brazen and insolent defiance" of the provisions of the industrial law. But when the Industrial Commission went to the locality, they found the strikers mostly unnaturalized foreigners, unable to speak English; "in all probability they had never heard of the state law." Recognizing this fact, the commission did not seek to institute prosecution, but tried to persuade the men to go back to work and to have their grievances investigated in a lawful manner. In four days the commission succeeded, and practically all of the men returned to work. The company has offered to adjust every grievance, except wages, as the commission may think best, and that issue is now under investigation. If that governor had received adequate home missionary education concerning the number, kinds, locations, occupations, and needs of the immigrants of his state, would he have made that mistake?

The Question of Attitude. Both the beginning of a strike and the engendering of the spirit that leads to violence is due sometimes to the attitude of labor leaders and sometimes to the attitude of employers. When Carroll D. Wright was head of the United States Bureau of Labor, he found that in 75 per cent. of the strikes the employers had refused arbitration. Speaking to the American Federation of Labor, November, 1917, the first time a President of the United States had addressed them, Woodrow Wilson said: "You sometimes stop the courses of labor, but there are others who do the same. I am speaking of my own

experience when I say that you are reasonable in a larger number of cases than the capitalists." A strike recently occurred in an industry in which some of the leading firms have for years maintained peace with justice by settling all disputes through a joint committee, on which the workers are democratically represented. The strikers asked the manufacturers involved to meet their representatives in conference, offering in event of disagreement to submit all disputes to an impartial arbitration board. The employers paid no attention to the communication. Their attorney later explained that they would not dignify the request by admitting there was anything to arbitrate. In one city the milk-wagon drivers recently struck, asking for half as much rest a month as is given the horses they drive. They were working from twelve to eighteen hours a day for 365 days a year. The president of the company told the board that one day a month seemed too little to be of any value to the men and that a summer vacation would be better. So the board provided that all drivers who had been with the company a year could have a week's vacation with pay, and those who had been with it five years could have two weeks.

"When some of the men asked me if I would let them have a day a month instead," said the president, "I told them no. I'd do as I damn pleased." Sometimes employers have suffered from the insolence of an unfit labor leader, ordering men out on strike to express his new-born sense of authority, but they are angered when their own insolence produces similar results.

"Why do you object to a union man?" the manager was asked.

"We own these mines and we are going to run them," he answered. "If any union man is here, it is because we don't know it. If we find it out, he will either be run out or killed." On the other side is the same attitude of some union leaders and union men toward non-union men. They too will be "run out" of the community. These attitudes are not typical but they are responsible for a great deal of trouble. They root in the failure to recognize men as brothers. Have the churches any teaching to spread concerning human relationships?

Labor Organizations. An employers' association recently charged in the press of their city that the organized workers of the trade were demanding a raise in wages in disregard of their contract. A few years since another local of the same union got the labor forces of its city to support a similar demand, but the oldest and strongest union in that trade refused to support any contract-breaking. Its leader said to the central body when threatened with expulsion, "You can turn us out if you want to. You did that once before on this issue, and you were glad enough to take us back. So you will be again." One of the leading industries of this country has suffered much from local strikes in violation of the general contract made with the union. American employers have often been subjected to arbitrary and unreasonable demands from labor leaders who were both unacquainted and unsympathetic with the difficulties of industrial management in a competitive system. Recently a mine

War material confiscated by the militia in a West Virginia coal strike. Six machine guns were taken from the coal operators, 2,000 shotguns and rifles and nearly 250,000 rounds of ammunition were captured. The revolvers and rifles were taken from both operators and miners.

"It was an ancient task of religion to modify the clan-law of blood revenge. Is there a similar task awaiting Christianity?"

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owner reported 1,100 workers idle and at least 7,000 tons of coal unmined because two skilled operators demanded an extra five cents an hour above the rate agreed upon, and the miners struck to enforce their demand.

American labor has inflicted many wrongs upon the public because it has endured ignorant and unprincipled leadership. Yet an unorganized labor world involves even worse evils in its condition of industrial anarchy.

For Example. Recently in New York City the National Association of Manufacturers enthusiastically applauded an appeal to engage in a nation-wide offensive against the American Federation of Labor. At that very moment, with national and international destinies dependent upon the nation's food supply, thousands of tons of foodstuffs were going to waste on a railroad pier in New York City as the result of a spontaneous strike among the longshoremen, that could not be adjusted because the men were not organized. In the early days of a union it usually orders a number of strikes. As the organization becomes older, the number of strikes decreases. Oftentimes it is the unjust demands of unprincipled leaders which are the occasion of industrial disputes. It is a general fact, however, that the number of strikes decreases with the age and extent of labor organizations in a given trade. One of the main tasks of labor leaders is to discourage and prevent strikes because they usually weaken the organization. A number of the older unions have a settled policy to include in their agreements with employers clauses binding themselves to

conciliation and arbitration concerning all matters of dispute. On the other hand it is the policy of the I. W. W. to carry on constant guerilla warfare with the employer. They will make no agreements. They will strike whenever occasion offers the opportunity to get advantage for themselves.

Law and Order. The records of strikes constantly show violence created by the brutal and repressive action of those sent to enforce the law. In such cases the community itself is responsible for the breakdown of law and order. This does not mean that the strikers were without blame, but it does mean that we need to face the question that Jesus put to the men who brought the sinning woman to him in the temple. In a textile strike the workers were enraged because streams of ice-cold water were turned upon them from the hose in zero weather in order to disperse those who were picketing in front of the mills and singing as they marched. In a recent garment-workers' strike, society women organized in order to protect the girls from the brutality of the police. When a prominent club-woman was jailed by mistake, the police found themselves in trouble. They tried to let her go, but she insisted on standing trial and making public their methods. In a strike parade a clergyman seized one end of the banner which was being carried by the marchers, because the girl who had been carrying it had been brutally pushed over by the police. It was a banner containing a phrase from the Lord's prayer. It was then carried unmolested by the Christian minister on one side and by a Jewish garment-worker on the other.

In another city a moving-picture operator who accompanied a squad of police on a raid into a strike territory for the purpose of putting respect for authority into the hearts of the strikers, said concerning the officers in charge: "That man ———— is a bird. He led that bunch of cops in there and put everybody off the street. Nobody dared to say a word or he got smashed over the head. A fellow was standing in a doorway and just made a kind of a face and said, 'This is a fine bunch,' or something like that, and ———— laid him out with the butt of his revolver. The man's wife came to the door and threw her arms around ———— to protect her husband. He just grabbed her and threw her bodily back through the door. I have a peach of a film of the whole thing."

How Murder Comes. In another strike where killing occurred, somebody from among the strikers threw a brick, and at once the guards began to fire. The grand jury report severely censures the guards who fired into the crowd, killing three men and wounding many others, and states that they were not of such a character as to be trusted with the responsibility laid upon them. Concerning the origin of the violence the report says: "While one shot was fired from one of the mob assembled round the gates of the company, the shots which precipitated the extreme acts of lawlessness and crime were shots fired by guards of the company." In such situations those who would to-day spread Christianity may well remember the words of one of its first missionaries: "Sittest thou to judge me according to the law and permittest me to be struck contrary to the law?"

Both in the struggle for political freedom and in the struggle for industrial democracy it is a historic law that violence has developed in direct ratio to the brutal and repressive methods employed by those in authority. Since the New York police under the orders of a new type of commissioner have treated crowds with respect yet firmness, and permitted freedom of speech, there has been practically no mob violence in New York City.

The "Gunmen." The name "gunmen" spreads hate and fear throughout the labor world. It means not the gunmen of city gangs, but armed guards hired by employers in time of strike from so-called "private detective agencies." There has developed in this country a widespread business organized on a large scale by many agencies to furnish employers with men who in ordinary times will act as spies in labor organizations and in time of trouble as strike-breakers or guards. This business has even reached the scale of supplying corporations with private armies, equipped to make war with machine guns. A popular magazine reports that one such agency has an armory in a certain city with 1,100 rifles, and barracks where guards are constantly maintained, drilled and trained. These guards are usually given some legal authority, either as special constables or as deputies, though not infrequently they are paid by the employers. Hired for purposes of protection, they often promote aggressive warfare, partly for love of the game and partly to create business. Like the police agents of repressive European governments, they have been proved time and time again to promote destruction and violence

themselves in order to discredit strikers and to make sure their own salaries and profits. They are the death ravens of the modern industrial battle-field. Wherever they appear, slaughter begins. In most of our recent labor fights that have been attended by loss of life, the trouble started with murder by some of these men. Testimony before commissions and courts proves these forces to be mainly composed of ex-convicts, criminals, and denizens of the underworld, with a sprinkling of soldiers of fortune, and proves also that they have been instructed to commit assaults and even to kill union men.

A Vicious System. As long ago as the Homestead strike in 1892, a Pennsylvania senate committee declared the hiring of armed guards to be an utterly vicious system, responsible for much of the ill feeling and bad blood displayed by the working class. Protected by their standing as officers of the law, gunmen have committed murder with impunity. In only one strike out of many in recent years in which this has happened have they been brought to trial. The result is retaliation on the part of the workingmen. Recently in a public meeting in an Eastern city, a representative of the I. W. W. from a region where a strike is in progress was describing the assaults of the gunmen upon the strikers. He said, "We determined it should be an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, but when after that one of our men was brutally killed, we said we would make it three for one, and a short time afterward three of those guards disappeared. They never came for their pay. I don't claim to know what happened to them, but I do know

that no more of our men have been killed." It was an ancient task of religion to modify the clan law of blood revenge. Is there a similar task awaiting modern Christianity?

A Small Strike. In one mining village of a thousand people, fifty to seventy-five armed guards were recently brought in by the employing companies and deputized. They declared the town to be under martial law and arrogated to themselves all authority. They refused to permit the village officers to meet or to transact business. At the point of the gun they drove from the town the president of the board and three trustees who were miners and active anti-saloon men. They ordered one preacher to leave town because he spoke in sympathy with the men in their effort to better themselves. One old lady just sitting down to supper was ordered to leave, and asked permission to finish her meal. "Never mind the eating. Get out!" was the answer. The strike was unorganized, and an officer of the union went to investigate. He was an Odd Fellow and a deacon in the Baptist church. He was ordered not to stay over night. He said he had a right to stay and proposed to remain. The deputy sheriff admitted it but begged him to go because he said he could not control the gunmen. The United States has the distinction of being the only nation to permit private armies to be maintained and to exercise the functions of the state. This traffic in armed guards is really interstate commerce in death. If it is prohibited, the major violence of our industrial disputes will cease.

The churches have a direct interest in this situation.

In the small strike above referred to, two churches were broken up. To the minister who came from afar to investigate the situation, the manager of the company was extremely courteous until he discovered that he represented the church. "What has the church to do with it anyway?" he said. "There was a preacher here, who went to shooting off his mouth about the strike. We killed off his church! Then he came crawling on his belly to us to help him, so we gave him a job in the mine." Will home missions answer this question, "What has the church to do with it anyway"?

"Blessed Are the Peacemakers." How shall the churches earn the blessing of the beatitudes? It is idle to "cry peace when there is no peace." The program that will remove the immediate occasions of violence is easy to see. If the gunmen on the one hand and the labor leaders who preach violence on the other are controlled by even-handed justice, if the law is administered without regard to rich or poor, it will be respected and sustained. If the Christian element in the community wants law and order, it must secure an administraton of law that is just. But can the church do nothing before the dispute reaches the stage of fighting? What message is there which will reach underneath the situation? Said one I. W. W. leader to the writer, "We fellows can't put anything across until conditions are rotten enough to justify it." Has the Christian religion a message which will reach the rotten conditions before the violence develops? A committee from the British government asked a labor leader of England in the time of the tranportation

strike when the island was forty-eight hours from food shortage, "Don't you care anything about our food supply?" "We care no more for your food supply while we are on strike than you cared for ours while we were at work," was the answer. Will the church then find out the conditions that lead to the unrest of labor? Will it make the people see them and understand them? Will it demand justice as the prophets did, as Jesus did in the temple? Will it preach to the weak to be content with their condition, or will it preach to the strong to work righteousness and to the weak to cooperate with them in the search for it?

The Real Prevention. Underneath the immediate conditions that occasion industrial strife is the fact that industry is organized on the war basis. The apparently peaceful nature of so much of the working world is misleading. Deep down under its placid surface, as under the raging storms of such incidents as are herein recorded, there lie the relations out of which these conflicts arise. With these the church must deal. With them is the heart of its missionary message concerned.

V

NOT BY BREAD ALONE

Aim: *To show the attitude of labor toward the church and toward religion, in order to discover what are the spiritual needs of both labor and capital.*

V

NOT BY BREAD ALONE

The Voice of Labor. For those who seek to make industry Christian, it is essential to find out what the workers think about it. What is their attitude toward religion? What do they want of the church? For the first time in history the "silent masses of mankind" are becoming able to speak for themselves. In the past they have been unable to make known their point of view. "Theirs not to reason why, theirs but to work and die." But now they are getting educated and are expressing their desires and aspirations. The development of self-consciousness and self-expression among the working class is one of the greatest changes in human history. It involves immeasurable possibilities for the future development of society and of religion. If these are to be realized, it is necessary at this point for the church to listen to the voice of labor.

Who Is Labor? The average workingman is not very talkative. He will not speak more freely about his religious interests than any other man. He is not inclined to talk about the great problems of the working world. Usually he is too busy to think much about them. There are leaders, however, who have the right to speak for him. Just as it is the organized Christians in religious and missionary agencies who think the most about the problem of Christianizing the

world because they are working at it the hardest, so it is the organized workers, those who are trying to improve the working world, who think and talk the most about the needs of labor. The people who are organized into labor unions, however, are composed of just about as many different kinds of people as will be found in any other organization. They have the same variety of attitudes toward religion. In trying to get at the attitude of labor toward the church and religion it must also be remembered that the constitution of labor unions forbids any kind of religious discrimination, even the discussion of any question of religious belief. Therefore the opinions of leaders are more or less matters of personal judgment.

Labor and the Church. When the church inquires concerning the religious attitude of the workers, about the first question it asks is: "Do they go to church?" This is not an easy question to answer. No statistics are kept either by the labor union or the church concerning church-membership of union men; consequently nothing accurate can be determined.

There are some churches in factory neighborhoods which are crowded with workingmen. There are other industrial communities where only a very small proportion of the men ever cross the threshold of a church, Protestant or Catholic. In a Middle-Western churchgoing community a preacher went through a great railroad shop employing over a thousand men. As he talked with them he was told that there were only a few men there who "gave a damn for the church." In recent years three inquiries have been made of labor leaders concerning the attitude of union

men toward the church[1]. The majority of these leaders estimate the church-membership among the men of their unions at from 5 to 40 per cent. A good many report that fewer men attend the churches every year. A few report church attendance as increasing, and they are officers of small unions in which the percentage of church-membership is very high. One of them writes as follows:

"I am glad to see the church waking up to the needs of the working people. They need the love of Jesus and need it as much as wealth, but they must be made to feel that those who possess wealth are not measuring them by their clothes and circumstances. We have thousands of members in the churches, and in some places they are the sustaining force in it."

The Rev. H. F. Swartz of the Congregational Home Missionary Society concludes from a study of the Congregational churches of St. Louis, that their membership is distributed as follows: capitalist, 13 per cent.; professional, 13 per cent.; clerical, 30 per cent.; labor, 44 per cent. In the labor group are included many who are foremen and many cases in which the wife is a church-member and the husband is not.

The Rev. Charles Stelzle, founder of Labor Temple and formerly head of the Presbyterian Bureau of Church and Labor, reports that the result of his inquiry showed that with the increased intelligence of the workingman, with the growth of his interest in his own organization for the improvement of his condition, his interest in the church declines.

This is a matter of regret to many of the leaders.

[1]These inquiries have been made by the Rev. Charles Stelzle, by Mr. Bruce Barton, and from the office of the writer. A number of the quotations in this chapter are from the replies to Mr. Barton.

Introducing the writer at a labor meeting, the president of the state federation said to the men, "I've told you before what I think about the church. The man who doesn't attend the union meeting has no right to kick about what it does or doesn't do. It's the same way with the church. You have no right to kick about the church's not helping you if you don't attend and support it."

Says the *Workers' World*, after discussing the benefits of churchgoing: "We want to go to church all the time, but confound it, the preachers won't let us." Does this mean that many workers are like many capitalists and will go to church only on condition that they hear certain things that they want to hear?

Reason or Excuse? A Socialist leader and a trade union leader, one of Protestant, the other of Catholic antecedents, were addressing a union meeting of preachers on the question of the church and industry. In the course of their remarks, both made it clear that they seldom went to church because their time on Sunday was occupied by labor meetings and they felt they were doing the work of religion in thus serving their fellow men. Ask the average workingman why he does not attend church more frequently, and he will tell you that it is because the church does not interest him. Time and time again, in different parts of the country, workingmen have said to me, "If the preachers would only talk more about the things that are vital to us, we would go. The churches would be filled." "How many churches are there," asks one leader, "that take up the subject of Sabbath rest? Why do they not bend their energies toward lightening the

burdens of the toiler, instead of merely offering a spiritual consolation? Working all week long for a mere pittance is poor preparation for a Sunday morning sermon on the joys of the hereafter."

"Why is it," the preacher was asked at the labor meeting, "that the best Christian makes the worst union man?" The questioner had in mind the fact that the mere attempt to gain individual salvation makes men selfish, less brotherly, less cooperative. But on the other hand the majority of labor leaders agree in the sentiment that the best Christian, if he have the true spirit of Christ, makes the best union man, and that the more Christianity there is, the better chance the labor movement will have.

Stock Objections. A summary of the letters of labor leaders concerning the church brings out two easy generalizations: First, the church and the preacher are under the influence of money; next, the church has no vital interest in the worker and his life. What they call its "alliance with predatory wealth," and its "coldness," constitute the stock indictments of the church by workingmen.

Here are some quotations:

"Unfortunately a majority of them feel that they cannot look to the church for practical sympathy and help in connection with their industrial problems."

"Failure of the church to help adjust social and economic wrongs."

"The church is not in touch with democracy; its members are cold."

"It is an uphill struggle to convince the masses that the church is not out of sympathy with their hopes and aspirations to gain a higher plane of civilization for themselves and their children."

"The general sentiment among the workers is that the church is not in sympathy with them, that it reserves its favors for the

well-to-do and its frowns for the poor devil who toils. This sentiment pertains as to religion generally, without regard to sect or creed."

"The workers feel that the church of to-day, like the church of the Master's day, is arrayed with the oppressors of the common people."

Continuing the Indictment. Here is still another count in labor's bill of grievances against the church. It deals with unfriendly conduct of leading church workers, the use by the church of "unfair" materials and "unfair" labor in its building and in its printing, and antagonistic utterances by preachers. In some of these cases, long after the original offense has been removed and atoned for, the memory of it still persists. In the Lawrence strike and in the Colorado strike particularly, prominent preachers made attacks upon labor which were widely heralded through the press and which the labor world will not forget. The fact that certain religious publishing houses refused and some still refuse to grant the eight-hour day still rankles in the feelings of labor. There is only slight knowledge of the fact that in the past few years most of the churches have taken a very different attitude to labor.

Here are some more quotations from the leaders:

"The workingman has constantly before him the example of wealthy employers who are leading members of the church, and in whose shops conditions are deplorable and wages held down to the lowest possible level. He regards the average church as unfriendly and is not impressed with its offers of cooperation when he sees upon its board of trustees wealthy manufacturers who have no sympathy at all with organized labor."

"Sometimes I am inclined to believe that the church is drawing closer to the laboring man,—and then, at the moment when my faith is gaining strength, some utterly inexcusable thing will take place to lead me to doubt whether the average church-member can ever really come to understand the attitude

and purposes of the unions. For instance, I have hardly ever known a church building to be erected where there was not trouble because of unfair (non-union) labor and unfair materials. The average clergyman seems to have no idea of true political economy. His idea is to get everything as cheaply as possible, regardless of consequences. It is a matter of indifference to him under what conditions the material that goes into his church may have been produced. He does not stop to inquire what suffering may have been entailed in the employment of cheap labor. This patronage of unfair material and cheap labor also applies to nearly all the activities of the church, as for instance, printed matter."

"I find little difference in the attitude of the various churches toward organized labor," says the president of a union of 70,000. "So far as the printing business is considered, practically all churches have their printing done in non-union shops."

"The workers are of the opinion that church institutions are continually seeking to secure cheaper labor than what is provided for by trade union agreements with employers, or in other words to get labor below the market rate."

Blocking the Gospel. In several states the opposition of prominent laymen to child-labor laws and the refusal or failure of preachers to support these bills has been given as the reason for the opposition of labor to the church. In each case this had happened some years before. Get the confidence of a workingman who is aggressively hostile to religion, and inevitably his antagonism goes back to some personal experience of the repressive attitude of great ecclesiastical organizations or the unchristian conduct of some prominent church-member. In one case the organization, and in the other, the individual, professing to represent Jesus, so misrepresented his gospel as to block the approach of his gospel to other lives. This is the heaviest handicap which home missionary organizations and preachers have to carry in their approach to the wage-earners. The pulpit cannot carry

its message past any denial of it in the lives of church-members. Besides this, the pulpit is continually blocking its own approach to the toilers.

The Voice of the Pulpit. The pulpit stands preeminently for the church, especially when its words get into the newspapers. Many a man who does not go to church gets his impression of the attitude of the church toward social questions by the headlines in the Monday morning papers. In one great city of this country, after a week in which there had been bread riots because the poor were hungry, with the whole labor world getting desperate over the price of food, these were some of the topics that the pulpit discussed: "The Borderland of the Doubtful," "How Billy Sunday Does Things," "Predestination," "Religion and Science," "Columbus, the Prophet of a Scientific Faith," "Is It Possible to Reject the Writings of Moses and Still Be a Christian?" "What Is the Difference Between Eternal Life and Eternal Existence?" Did the people who were anxious for bread, who needed both the "bread that perisheth" and the bread of life, get a stone? Contrast the attitude of Jesus toward the hungry people, both in the food that he gave them and in the words that accompanied the food.

Said a labor leader recently to a great gathering of church leaders:

"In my city a few years ago, 65,000 workers were on strike, representing with their families about 300,000 people. In that industrial upheaval, practically every one of the principles of the Social Creed of the Churches was involved: bad housing, poverty, low wages, long hours, and intolerable conditions of labor, as well as the refusal to recognize organized labor. During the eleven weeks of that strike when many of those people

were walking the streets hungry and cold, I went to church twice every Sunday and heard not a single reference to that condition. Can you blame those workers if they conclude that the church is against them, or at least entirely indifferent to the conditions of their living?"

Addressing a conference of ministers, a labor leader gave his idea of a sermon. He took for his text, "Behold the hire of the laborers who mowed your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth out; and the cries of them that reaped have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth" (James 5.4). He then specified the conditions of the workers in the different industries, the packing houses, the steel-mills, the cotton-mills, the mines, the department stores, and contrasted these conditions with evidences of luxury and extravagance on the part of the few who possess the millions made out of these industries. This was his conception of applying the gospel to modern social conditions. It brought the truth home in actual facts. Was this what the apostles and Jesus did?

Without Knowledge? The preacher of a prominent church read a magazine article about the revolutionary spirit of a section of the workers. It stirred him so that the next Sunday he preached a sermon on "The Independent Workers of the World," to the derision of every workingman and many other thinking people of that city who knew all about the I. W. W., whose very name he had misquoted. An old war-horse in the work of carrying the gospel to the homeless seasonal laborers was addressing a group of preachers who were keenly anxious to help the workers. "Don't get up and say: 'I can sympathize with the honest workingman. My hands have been hard.

I worked on the farm as a boy.' They'll put you down as a fool. Above all, don't say: 'I'm a friend of labor. I stand for the right to organize. I believe in the open shop.' If you do they'll put you down as a hypocrite." He was emphasizing the need of knowledge. The essential of a successful approach to the labor world is the study of its conditions and movements. Some three years ago, a religious paper printed an article about different labor disturbances then current. It charged some to the trade unions, some to the Socialists, and some to the I. W. W. It then concluded that the leaders of these organizations must get together at stated intervals and plan such things. Had that editor known the labor world, he would never have printed such nonsense, because bitter is the rivalry and even the strife between these organizations.

The Need of Sympathy. The workers have a right to sympathy from the church, as they got it from Jesus. Knowledge and sympathy belong together. Without knowledge, there can be no sound sympathy. Without sympathy, there can be no true understanding of a situation. There is a sympathy that is partisan; there is another that leads to understanding and fairness. The latter is what labor asks of the church. A preacher complains that, being asked to address a labor meeting, he replied that he would have to criticize as well as praise and was told, "We don't want that; all we want is support." I have addressed many meetings and never found that attitude. I have found labor meetings more tolerant than church meetings of criticism straight from the shoulder. Workingmen are more used to handling each other's faults without

gloves than are church people and preachers. More than once I have been told by labor leaders that what they expect of the church is not a partisan attitude, but an attempt to understand the labor struggle and to apply squarely the principles of the gospel to it. Very dispassionately and quite impersonally did a labor leader unjustly sentenced to life imprisonment (he has since been released) discuss his case. There was no bitterness against his persecution. Then he said: "You must remember I am speaking from one side of this situation. I want you to investigate fully and come to a decision based on all the facts. I am not afraid of what it will be."

Deeds, Not Words. Labor properly insists on judging the church, not simply by its proclamations, but by its actions. When the "Social Creed" was adopted, labor leaders said: "This is the biggest thing the churches have ever done. Now we're going to see if you really mean it." Says one labor paper: "We become accustomed to the usual set of resolutions, adopted by the average fraternal, religious, or political organization, and reserve our judgment till we see what the *action* is. Oftentimes they mean little and are but a sop to the more advanced thought of the day." An open letter from the labor group to the clergymen of a certain city makes the charge that a minister who is superintendent of a printing company publishing a religious periodical dismissed his workmen simply and solely because they were members of the trade union, even though they volunteered to make a settlement with him, so that the increased wages of the union scale would cost the company

nothing. In another city some labor men who were prominent in organizing a new church asked the authorities of a certain denomination for a pastor who would also work among the labor unions of that city. The reply was that they had no money to use for church extension purposes among labor organizations. A college professor who was interested in the situation said that he was putting aside the "Social Creed" as so much "bunk"; that "in so far as the local denominations are concerned, the attorneys of the liquor interests can continue to be the chaplains of our 20,000 to 30,000 labor union men." It is such concrete situations that largely determine the attitude of labor not only toward the church but toward religion.

Making Progress. On the other hand, some concrete action may carry the gospel far into the group of labor. In a certain strike a denominational preachers' meeting appointed a committee to investigate the merits of the controversy. Its report was favorable to the strikers and was adopted. One of the mill-owners said to the committee that it was "up to the churches to help us put these labor unions out of business and drive the agitators out of the country." Not merely because the churches took the side of the workers, but because the churches took the position that it was "impossible to maintain a neutral attitude where moral questions are involved, that it must throw its influence on the side which is in accord with the principles of the Social Creed, whether that of the employers or the employees," a new attitude toward religion was created in the labor group of that community. Says a prominent labor leader:

"It was a sympathetic sermon preached on the streets which touched me when I was out of employment and nearly ready to give up, and brought me into the church. I am certain that the church has made great strides in reaching out toward the laborers in recent years, and equally sure that that fact is not yet appreciated by the rank and file of union men. Too many of them still charge the clergy with being in league with organized wealth for the purpose of oppression. I know the real facts to be far different. Ministers as a class are broad-minded, sympathetic men whose salaries are small and whose calls for help are many. It is only the few, who receive large salaries and are pastors of fashionable congregations estranged from the common people, but these few are too much noticed; they give an unfortunate impression of the whole class. For myself, I have taken the trouble to investigate the charge that churches are cold and unsympathetic, and I must say that in no church that I ever entered did I fail to receive a courteous and sympathetic reception."

The Preacher's Opportunity. There are few men who have such an opportunity as the preacher to know the facts of the labor struggle, to understand and interpret it to the community. It was a preacher who vividly described to the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations what it meant to live in a community dominated by a great corporation as the single employer. He had tried, he said, to get qualified school voters to attend a school election, and they refused to go for fear they might antagonize the company's interest. It was the preacher of the only Protestant church in a great industrial community composed of immigrants who was able to make a state industrial commission understand exactly what seven-day work meant to those immigrants. He knew because he had lived with them and had come to understand their lot from the standpoint of the gospel and its standards of social justice.

The Other Side. There is, of course, a section of

Leader giving instructions to youthful picketers in strike of the messenger boys of The American District Telegraph Company and the Postal Telegraph and Cable Company.

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the labor world that is hostile to the church; that says it is "not of Jesus"; "a wolf in sheep's clothing"; "its only purpose is to acquire power and wealth in this world." There is a type of labor leader who would prefer not to have the working people discuss religion, lest it should turn aside their attention from the material interests which the union is trying to promote. He thinks that "the labor movement finds its power and effectiveness must be devoted to the real present problems arising in the world of toil and practical affairs." This is an attempt to live "by bread alone." And of course there are plenty of men not in the ranks of labor who are making the same mistake. In all such people it is the duty of the church to arouse a consciousness of the deeper needs of the spirit. When the Federal Council of Churches protested before the State Industrial Commission of New York against a certain company's forcing its men to work seven days a week, a labor review in a distant city declared that the purpose of the movement was "not because the churches wanted men to cease working seven days in the week, but because they wanted the people to go to church if they do not work on the Sabbath. They protest in the hope that so many more people will go to church if they do not work on the Sabbath—not because they think men should work only six days in the week. They never think of that." It then said that the clergy need to learn the same lesson that the average business man is getting, namely, "that the best returns in this world are secured by serving others without thought of self."

Turning the Tables. Such comments are based on

complete ignorance and misunderstanding of the attitude of the church. Surely the church has a right to expect of labor leaders the same intelligence and sympathy that they expect of the church. The church is facing the whole industrial question to-day with a new missionary purpose, willing to serve without counting the cost of service, willing to lose its life if need be, in order to find the Kingdom. The fact that there should be widespread ignorance concerning the attitude and action of the churches on industrial questions indicates a lack of missionary enterprise. There is needed a printed propaganda to make the wage-earner acquainted with the social interpretation and application of the gospel. At present the intellectual life of the working class and of the churches has little in common. They read different papers. Their opinions are formed by different influences. The pulpit is bringing this aspect of the gospel to the middle class and the capitalist, and in many instances it is totally changing their point of view. But the wage-earners are mostly at home reading the Sunday papers, the labor papers, or the Socialist journals. To them also the gospel must be carried. It calls for an aggressive propaganda of speech and press. There is opportunity in every community for the church people to spread leaflets as the socialists distribute their material, to send speakers to the labor halls, to hold meetings on the street corners and in other public places. The good news must be carried to the poor.

More Radical Groups. So far we have been talking about organized labor. But there are also the Socialists. They are vitally interested in religion, either

for or against it, for there has long been a division on the question of religion among the Socialists of this country. On the one hand there has been an aggressive propaganda directed against religion. It has its roots in an incomplete understanding of science, philosophy, and religion. On the other hand there is an active group of Christian Socialists. Between these two antagonistic groups a truce was finally declared on the basis that there should be no propaganda either for or against religion under official Socialist auspices; that religion was a private matter for each individual to determine for himself. The Christian Socialists have undertaken the twofold task of interpreting Christianity to their comrades in the Socialist party and Socialism to their fellow workers in the churches.

The Syndicalists. The radical left wing of Socialism, which is most vigorously anti-religious, merges into syndicalism, whose organized form in this country is the I. W. W. This organization wants to gather all workers into one big union, so that by a general strike a new order of society can be brought about in which the workers themselves will by their cooperation manage all the affairs of society. Everybody will be a worker and there will be no need for government as we now know it. Many of the syndicalist leaders are radical philosophers, most of the rank and file are low-paid, exploited workers, immigrants and native-born, especially from the seasonal trades. They are the nomads of our industrial world, the men of the lumber and construction camps, of the wheat-fields and the ice harvest, the people who oftentimes "have not where

to lay their heads." Every community wants them when it has hard and dirty work to do, and wants to run them out as soon as it is done. Because of their conditions of occupation, their scant income, their constant travel, they have little or no church connection. They are down below church-membership. Their speakers usually proclaim bitter hostility both to the church and to religion. Said one of them: "The church is built to house a ghost, and inside, the ghost is warm and comfortable, but outside, the worker hasn't a place to sleep." These men attack the church because they believe it to be entirely in the grip of the capitalist class, and they attack the Christian religion because they believe that it teaches contentment with conditions which ought to be removed; they assert that it develops a psychology of fear, that its influence upon the working class is repressive, whereas the workers need to revolt. This criticism raises a fundamental question concerning the nature of Christianity.

Is Christianity Revolutionary? At a shop-meeting the men pushed forward one of their number to ask the preacher a question. "You've bothered us long enough with your questions," they said. "Now here's a man who can answer you. Go for him!" His first question was theological. His second was this: "Was Jesus a rebel?" This is the vital issue with the social radicals: Is Christianity content with the world as it is or does it demand a thoroughgoing transformation? Is it working for reconstruction? This question demands that the missionary propaganda search its heart. What is it after? To build churches, to increase Sunday-schools, in order to multiply the num-

ber of saints in heaven? Or does it seek to make the civilization of man over into the civilization of God,—to transform human society into the kingdom of God upon the earth, in order that thus man may come to know God and enjoy him forever? Is Jesus still a rebel against civilization as he finds it? If his purpose is carried out in human society will the things of which the workers complain remain? Will there be poverty or crime or war or preventable disease? Will there be bad housing and a big death-rate? Will there be starvation wages and big fortunes, long hours and idleness? When Christianity understands its missionary purpose, it finds that it involves the complete transformation of the whole of human life, individual and social. With the evil that is in the world there can be neither truce nor compromise. There is no other propaganda for social reconstruction which goes so far or demands such thoroughgoing change as the propaganda of Jesus. Here, then, is a point of contact between the churches and the social radicals. Starting with this kindred purpose they can together consider the program which is necessary to realize it.

Hunger of Soul. The attitude of radical social groups toward the church must not be confused with their attitude toward religion. Both attitudes should be carefully scrutinized for indications of religious need. Underlying all the hostility of the labor world to organized religion and even to religion itself, there is a deep religious hunger. It comes to the surface clearly in its attitude toward Jesus. The old story about labor conventions hissing the church and applauding Jesus is a legend. "I have never known any

such instance," say labor leaders. Yet there is a sharp contrast between the attitude of the working class toward the church and toward Jesus. "They think that he belongs to them in a special sense, because he was a workingman first and a preacher afterwards," says a journalist who gathered the opinions of labor leaders about Jesus. Here are some of the answers:

"As for the workingman's attitude toward Jesus of Nazareth, I have never met one who did not hold his memory in reverence and admire his teachings."

"We believe that he was the great Teacher of social justice. The workingman gives eager reverence to that teaching, and to the Teacher, as being a sympathizer and fellow worker with him."

"The labor union man, as I know him, thinks of Jesus of Nazareth with the same deep reverence as does all civilized humanity."

"Of course, you will find here and there a dissenter or a loud-mouthed individual, or sometimes two or three, who denounce all things pure and holy, but these are not representative of union labor. We have the greatest reverence for the meek and lowly Nazarene. . . . In all my experience I have never heard anything but words of respect and reverence at the name of Jesus Christ in assemblages where men of toil are gathered. We admire his life and teachings. We constantly quote him and believe that his teachings have been the hope and caused the advance of modern civilization."

"I have no doubt he would be a member of the Carpenters' and Joiners' International Union."

"Unquestionably he would be with us. Was he not a workingman? Did he not preach the gospel of discontent to his fellow men? Was it not the church of his day that preferred the charge against him, 'He stirreth up the people, which led to his crucifixion? Surely, he belongs to us and would be with us."

"What the churches lose sight of when they complain because we do not attend them, is the fact that they have no such news to preach to us as Jesus had for the workingman of his day. They forget that his teaching was the most revolutionary, the most startling that had ever fallen upon the ears of those oppressed and dispirited people. They saw before them a carpenter, despised by the upper classes like themselves, who knew

their suffering and told them openly that the day of deliverance was at hand and that he had come to set them free."

"Would Jesus be a member of the modern church? He might, but he would be as busy throwing out the money-changers whose god is the dollar as he was when he was on earth."

Their Leader. In any picture of the upward progress of the toiling multitudes the Carpenter of Nazareth walks in front. "Christ himself was an agitator killed by the ruling class of his day," says a Christmas editorial in a labor paper, and therefore claims a "Merry Christmas" for the workers. A radical Socialist journal recently declared that "Jesus was the most uncompromising champion of the revolutionary proletariat that the world has ever seen." One of the most prominent national Socialist leaders says that Jesus was beyond question "the greatest moral and spiritual force in the world—a force essentially and uncompromisingly revolutionary and making unceasingly and increasingly, in spite of all attempts to divert and corrupt it, for the kinship of races, the democracy of nations, and the brotherhood of men." In an I. W. W. hall on the Pacific Coast there is a handmade sign which reads, "Jesus was the greatest hobo in history." It is not irreverence, it is a claim of kinship. Says the *Hobo News,* "Our great brother Jesus said that the Son of man has nowhere to lay his head." Says a radical journal, "This Jesus was a real guy." There is more here than an attempt to claim Jesus in support of a propaganda. There is a feeling of kinship, not simply in economic conditions, but in needs and ideals. The people at the bottom feel that the changes which Jesus demanded in human society are the changes which their interest requires. Here

Evicted strikers and families living in the street in Ipswich, Massachusetts. The tenements were owned by the mill people, who declared that the strikers must go to work or get out of the tenements.

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is the ground upon which the missionary program of the church among the working class may start. Here is fellow feeling and understanding to begin with.

Some Religious Elements. In the labor movement there is a great passion for brotherhood. It comes next to the church in emphasizing this ideal relationship. Many of its leaders feel themselves to be engaged in a religious undertaking. Said a labor leader who speaks constantly in pulpits, "As trade unionists we feel that we have a distinctive mission to perform, one that is more important to the welfare of the masses than any other except that which the church undertakes." Says a labor journal, "The organized labor movement may not be advocating churchianity, but it is preaching practical Christianity."

The president of one of the very large unions makes the following significant statement:

"We are finally learning, though it has taken us a good while, that much of the program of the labor unions parallels the program of the churches and can only be made effective with the cooperation of the church. The labor movement as a whole stands as positively for the moral uplift of the worker as it does for his physical or financial betterment. We are striving to take the little child from the mine, the mill, and the factory, and place him in the home or on the playground; we are striving to take the mother out of the mill and place her, too, in the home, where she will have opportunity to train her sons and daughters into honored and respected citizens. To accomplish this we must have the cooperation of the church and the clergy, and we are getting it in increasing measure every year.

"The organized labor movement is to-day doing more to Christianize the masses than is the church. The labor movement is not telling the masses that this life is a vale of woe and that they should patiently submit to hunger and misery in order that they may gain the glories of a heaven hereafter. It is telling them that this glorious world, the work of an all-wise

God, is full to overflowing with an abundance of good things, placed there by the Creator for his children, and that a glimpse of their chances of enjoying the glories of a heaven on earth will not jeopardize their heaven hereafter. The labor movement is not telling exploited men, women, and children that they ought to thank God for their lives of misery. It is giving them comfortable homes, plenty of food, self-respect, and a host of other things that draw their hearts heavenward and constrain them to thank God for something that is worth thanks.

"As the mission of the church is to save humanity from destroying itself, it should be the first to help the unions in their efforts to bring about better working conditions for the masses."

The wider the organization, the more far-reaching its bond, the deeper the sense of brotherhood it develops among its members. The foreign missionary movement has made many a Christian a brother to all the world. Says a member of a church, "I have long been a labor union man and have suffered suspicion in the church because of it. I am now a Socialist, because the labor union is for a few and Socialism is for all." Here is the same spirit of international brotherhood that is inherent and implicit in Christianity itself. The same spirit is found in still fuller measure in that despised organization, the I. W. W. With all its dangerous tactics, it yet has this vast ideal of "solidarity." It reaches down and gathers together the outcast and the rejected. It takes them in without distinction of color or sex or creed or race. It has a splendid dream of binding together all the workers of the earth in one great cosmopolitan organization. This is a religious aspiration. There are only two places where the great vision of international solidarity is found. One is in the labor movement and the other in the Christian church. Do they have the same

origin? Will they move to the same goal? Can they be welded together? Can the church turn its dream of solidarity into a practical fact in the working world? Each of these dreams has something the other needs. Said a Jewish Socialist to a preacher who was talking with him on the train and used the word God, "I would give anything if I could only be sure that God had something to do with our meeting to-night." Can the church make the working class feel that God *has* something to do with this world and its affairs? Can it make him real in the lives of those who need Him most?

Possible Cooperation. To what extent should the church actually cooperate with labor? Obviously the first duty is to develop acquaintance and mutual understanding. To accomplish this, more points of contact must be found. One method is the exchange of fraternal delegates between the ministerial body and the labor body—a plan first proposed by the Rev. Charles Stelzle, when he was superintendent of the Presbyterian Department of Church and Labor. One minister who served as fraternal delegate to the central body of his city was finally sent as delegate to the state federation of labor. He was elected its president. His influence took that assembly out of the control of the liquor interests. In a Southern city the federation of trades, declaring that they are "working for the betterment of the human race," recently requested the ministers of the city to act as chaplains from time to time, changing the man each month, "in order to bring about more cordial relations and a better understanding." Many churches are establishing

fraternal contacts between their brotherhoods and local labor organizations. One reason that so many labor organizations meet in halls over saloons is because there is no other place where they can afford to go. Labor Temple in New York, a Presbyterian home mission enterprise, houses several labor organizations for all their meetings. Recently the Washington Square Methodist Episcopal Church, of New York, offered a meeting-place to the Union of the Feather and Artificial Flower Workers, a woman's organization mostly Italian. Three fourths of the industry is carried on in that neighborhood, and the hospitality of the church was cordially accepted, as the workers had been compelled to journey elsewhere to meet. Such friendly contacts are an interpretation of the gospel in terms of deed—terms which labor can understand.

Working Together. Friendly contact between churches and labor bodies should develop into joint action for community welfare. In this way the gospel can be worked out together and a common religious experience developed. The first joint meeting of the ministerial association with the central labor body of a Western city to hear a visiting speaker developed into a stormy session. The labor men were indignant because they had been refused the use of a church auditorium for a child labor meeting addressed by the governor of the state, when it was freely rented for other purposes. Also a bitter and ignorant attack upon Socialism had been made from a prominent pulpit. It looked as though the meeting was a mistake. Finally the visitor said to the labor men, "What is next on your program?"

"We are going to get some home life for the city firemen; they are allowed to leave the stations for only one hour in twenty-four." He turned to the preachers, "Don't you want to help in that?"

"Certainly, that's inhuman." And a joint committee was formed at once, while the dead past buried itself.

It goes without saying that the same cooperation should be given to any other group who are truly working for human welfare, whether it be the social workers' group, or the chamber of commerce, but joint action of the church with any other body must cease the moment that group departs from the principles and spirit of the gospel. Two years after the meeting above described, the visitor heard from a pastor of that city that, as one of its results, a joint committee from the churches and labor organizations of the state and from the state grange had just gone to the legislature to work together for three measures for the welfare of the people, and that for the first time the state federation of labor was not fighting local option.

In Time of Strike. Should the church take sides in time of strike? Jesus and the prophets were with the people only when they were right, and against them when they were wrong. How can their example be followed to-day? The churches through the Federal Council and by denominational action have adopted their "Social Creed," which includes industrial standards. When industrial disputes occur, they can be measured in terms of those standards. The churches should then give support to the side that accepts those principles and is trying to carry them out. They

should rebuke the side which is acting contrary to those principles. The Federal Council of Churches has followed this method in the reports it has issued concerning several typical strikes. It has criticized both employers and employees. It has supported the demands of the employees when they have been just and righteous. The Colorado Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, through its Social Service Commission, adopted a report concerning the famous Colorado strike which called forth this statement from the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the state: "I must certainly congratulate you and your associates of the church for the broad, liberal, and statesmanlike views which you take on this unfortunate controversy of the coal strike." On the same situation, a penetrating report was prepared by the Rev. Henry A. Atkinson, secretary of the Congregational Social Service Commission. Both these reports severely condemned the violence of the strikers, but they also condemned the violent methods and the injustice of the operators. A church gathering recently denounced the owners of mines in the lead district of southeast Missouri, because of the insanitary conditions, the wretched hovels, and the lack of a living wage which kept the workers and their families from living like human beings. "We cannot hope to make Methodists there," said the Rev. E. J. Culp, because a Methodist believes he is a child of God, and no man can believe he is a child of God and live there." In two cities recently the churches and the preachers supported the strikers in a particular industry, because the employers were denying a living

wage and refusing arbitration, both of which are required by the Social Creed of the Churches.

Preachers Who Made Good. In a Western city a preacher who had served as chairman of the board to adjust a certain strike was approached by the leaders of the chamber of commerce and urged to use his influence in another industrial dispute because, as they said, "You are the only man in the community who will be listened to with equal respect by both sides." Here is a position of justice and fairness which can be acquired by few people in the community. Here was a missionary opportunity to apply the gospel far beyond the borders of the church. In an Eastern community a young preacher became aware of an impending strike through some Italians who were helping his church in the music. He learned of the injustice of the situation and also of the fact that the strikers were about to use improper methods. He used his influence both with the strikers and with the employers and then made the community at large understand the situation. He introduced the strikers to the state board of arbitration and to lawful methods. He was also able to induce one of the employers to increase the wages. In another community the preacher invited the leaders of the I. W. W. into church to explain their position. He then called upon the community to come and hear. The result was a different understanding of the situation. In a city of the Pacific Coast the preachers, led by a bishop, recently took a pronounced stand regarding the strike of the workers in the restaurants and hotels, because of the injustice of their long hours of work. When the I. W. W.'s

entered the churches in New York, some preachers shut them out. One preacher took them in and questioned them, found out that some of them were there simply for excitement, separated the sheep from the goats, fed them with bread, and found only a few half-loaves left, showing that the men were actually hungry. That preacher, who criticized sharply the methods of the I. W. W. leaders, came to the conclusion that there was one great wrong at the bottom of the situation. "In the midst of the richest city on earth, men who are willing to work are evidently hungry. There used to be an old adage, 'Hunger knows no law.' Sometimes the ears of good men are heavy that they cannot hear; their eyes are holden that they cannot see; their hearts are hard that they cannot feel; then the madman and the jester turn prophet." Such instances multiply. The church is declaring itself clearly in particular instances where justice is on the side of the workers; with equal clearness is it turned against their program when their demands are unjust or their conduct is unchristian. It brings a message of judgment, of conviction of sin, of appeal for righteousness and for justice. It proclaims the gospel through application to concrete conditions. But such utterances require an understanding of the facts, a real grasp of the situation. It becomes then missionary work to study the facts of a labor contest and to measure them in terms of the ethics of Christianity.

Some Other Voices. Toward such a program what is the attitude of that large section of church-membership which does not belong to labor? There are some capitalists, employers, and investors; there is the great

middle class—professional people, small business men, managers, and office workers; there is the great farming class, who have property and no part in industrial disputes, nor much understanding of them. The attitude of these groups to the church and its program is just as mixed as that of labor. There are some who want the pulpit to preach "the simple gospel"; who do not want to hear things on Sunday that refer to the struggles of the week. They come to church to be soothed and comforted, to be inspired and helped. Why should they be disturbed with matters of current controversy? One wealthy man recently left his church because he did not care to hear such things discussed at all, even in the calmest spirit. Of course such topics should not be discussed all the time. They are only a part of life and a part of the gospel. The gospel must minister to the needs of the inner life, but oftentimes it can only do it as Jesus and the prophets did it, through dealing with great public matters. There are many men like the employer who objected to the discussion of the living wage in church and who was shown by the preacher the needs of his own employees who were getting less than a living wage. He was thereby converted, agreed to put in a minimum wage in his own store, and assisted in passing the needed legislation.

There is an increasing number of people among the owners and managers of industry, among professional men and women, among business men, office workers, and farmers, who are desiring to know the whole counsel of God in this matter. They want to be Christians. They want to right the wrongs of their

brother man, no matter what the cost may be. They are ready to go to the limit in following Jesus, once they see the road. They are seeking to know how to use their money and their energies in making society Christian, no matter what changes may be required. To this group the missionary message must be one of service and sacrifice. Upon the willingness of those in power and possession to consider the needs of the poor and to work out justice will depend whether or not we shall get the transformation of society without violence. This heavy responsibility is placed upon those responsible for the Christian propaganda.

The Common Need. Far more fundamental than the question of what capital and labor want of the church is the question of what they need from the church. These needs are mutual. It is because they seek to live by bread alone that their interests are now antagonistic. When they learn that they cannot live by bread alone, then they will discover the interdependence of all kinds of workers. Since none can live without bread, therefore must all find how to make their bread together so that it will produce the spiritual life, so that there will be food and clothes and shelter and education and soul-life for all. To teach this to the world is the pressing business of the church. The world needs a social religion—a religion dealing with all the business of life, including every interest, covering work as well as prayer, and which will be just as vital in the factory, the shop, and the mine as in the home or the church. To discover such a religion, to work it out in all the aspects of life, is the missionary venture of this generation of Christians.

VI

MASTER AND MAN

Aim: *To show the changes which Christianity requires in the relations between those who work for wages and those who own and manage.*

VI

MASTER AND MAN

A Superior Being. Recently the employees of a public service corporation of a great city asked the company for some improvements in working conditions. The company refused. The petitioners then requested that the matter be arbitrated. To this the president replied: "When I go home at night I do not arbitrate with my cook what I shall have for dinner, because my cook is my servant. You too are my servants. I will not arbitrate with my servants." Was this a Christian attitude? To what extent is such an attitude responsible for our labor difficulties?

Fellow Workers. An interesting attitude was revealed in the replies to a recent inquiry concerning their motives to employers who had granted the eight-hour day. Many of the replies spoke of the wage-earners as "our men," "our people," "the people in our employ." One reply described them as "our working partners." Which description revealed the Christian spirit? In the early days of American industry the owner and the workmen were indeed fellow workers together. They constantly associated in many other ways than in the workshop. But now that business organization has extended to great corporations, it has destroyed those personal relations. Men are handled in the mass with an almost military system. The worker and the employer seldom meet or know

each other. The employer's children grow up with different standards of living from those of the workers, and often there is no contact between them. The result is two social classes, one regarding itself as superior and the other developing resentment and bitterness.

The Caste System. It is an old fact, this gulf between those who do different parts of the world's work. In India it long ago solidified into the caste system, with religious sanction. In Europe it developed into a hereditary aristocracy, a leisure class looking down on those who must labor. The power of the strong began it. They took with their swords the land that enabled their descendants to live without work. The same power is now making itself felt in similar fashion in the working world. Even in this new democratic country, children are being born into a consciousness of a superior position. Business men found hereditary dynasties which sometimes rule certain branches of trade for many generations. Their descendants often hold their place, not by ability, but by the power of ownership. Without active service, as mere sleeping partners in the business, many of them live in luxury from its proceeds. Here is the foundation for another leisure class and for the attitude that looks down upon the worker.

The Lower Classes. From early days those who do the common work of the world have been treated as inferiors by those who were strong enough to use them. At first they were slaves, who were owned by the powerful. Plato, with all his ideals, yet divided society into different groups, of varying honor and

privilege: there were the teachers, there were the fighters, there were the traders; but at the bottom there were the workers—the slaves, who had no souls, who were but hewers of wood and drawers of water, to be used for the comfort of the others. But Jesus cried, "Whosoever will, may come," and taught a great brotherhood of life, open to all on equal terms. Which does modern society believe, the social teaching of the pagan world, or that of Jesus? Which does it practise? This is the fundamental issue underneath all our industrial unrest. After twenty centuries of the teaching of Jesus' ideal of brotherhood, are the workers still simply a means to the benefit of others who are stronger?

The Appeal to Religion. Always the strong and the powerful have attempted to use religion to justify and maintain their superiority. The ancient Hebrew law recognized the right of the Jew to enslave the foreigner. India maintains her caste system, holding manual workers in subjection, by all the powers and penalties of religion. The English prayer-book long taught the common people that their duty to God also involved their duty to their betters, and that they should be content with their station in life. In recent years some of our industrial magnates who have thought themselves to be Christian have claimed the authority of God, declaring that in his wisdom he had put our natural resources and the destinies of the common people in the charge of the wise and the good. It is an old trick of despots—to claim acquaintance with the Almighty, and in time of storm to seek shelter in his sanction.

1. *Company houses for the Steel workers in a Pennsylvania town.*

2. *Homes for workingmen built by the English Government to meet the war-time housing problem.*

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The Answer of Religion. But religion, when it has been faithfully proclaimed, has never strengthened nor comforted the autocrat. The cry of Moses at the court of Pharoah, "Let my people go," has been constantly sounding in the ears of those who claimed special privilege, who oppressed the weak and made them poor. The Hebrew was ordered by the ancient law to treat his slave kindly, to strike off his shackles at the end of so many years, and to provide him with means to start life anew, that he might not again fall into slavery through debt. The prophets proclaimed the day of doom, "that great and dreadful day," the consummation of God's wrath, upon those who had worked injustice upon their neighbors. "He hath put down princes from their thrones and hath exalted them of low degree," was part of the song with which the coming of the Messiah was heralded. The disciples were told by Jesus that they should not organize life as the Gentiles had, with lords and rulers to have dominion over them, but they should be brothers in service.

The Demand for Democracy. Side by side with the spread of the teaching of Christianity has gone the demand for the abolition of class differences. The gospel has stimulated the masses to rise. In the Western world the common people have been constantly gaining more freedom. Their natural independence and their inborn spirit of liberty have been increased by the ideals of their religion. The story of democracy is also the story of Christianity. Where the gospel has gone, slaves have been emancipated, serfs have become free men and citizens, tyrants have been over-

thrown or have abdicated, and the people have learned how to rule themselves. They have become fit to rule and are continually extending their power. Limited suffrage is followed by universal suffrage; and universal suffrage develops the initiative, referendum, and recall. The inevitable result of democracy is more democracy. But the spirit of democracy now meets a challenge in the industrial world. Is its advance to be halted here?

Some New Lords. The rapid growth of American industry with the great opportunities it has opened has developed strong men who have insisted on taking power into their own hands. They are a new group of rulers, intent upon controlling the conduct of industry according to their word. As Louis XIV said, "I am the state," so they declare, "We are business." They do not propose to be "dictated to" or "interfered with" either by the public or by the workers. To the former they have said: "The public be damned." To the latter their answer is: "We have nothing to arbitrate." Yet these strong men have had to yield to the power of the people, and most of their operations have become subject to government regulation. Now they are facing the determination of the workers to secure the democratic control of industry.

The Final Freedom. Autocracy is taking its last stand in the trenches of our industrial system. After all the war lords and monarchs have been overthrown, democracy will still have to meet and reckon with those who are determined to exercise autocratic economic power. Recently many leaders of business have been asserting absolute sovereignty, insisting that

workers shall have nothing to say about the conditions under which they work. Even the efficiency engineers indicate that labor must take the conditions which their wisdom decides to be best; that it needs no voice in determining the standards by which it will produce. The assertion of the right of a few men to dictate the terms of work for many others accompanies the concentration of business management and of wealth in a few hands. This is already accomplished in several of the great industries. Said one business man, "It is a question whether one class shall control the destiny of another." But it is also a question whether one class shall control the destiny of all the rest. For if a small group of men can get their hands upon the sources of wealth, if they can control the money power of the United States, they are masters of the nation.

Wage Slavery. Some of the leaders of labor constantly talk about wage slavery. Is it a mere empty phrase? When men bought and owned other men and in return for their labor gave them shelter and subsistence, that was slavery. Of course the owners dictated the conditions under which the other men should work and, if necessary, enforced their orders by the overseer's whip. That was chattel slavery. If by the wage system men are compelled to work under conditions to which they do not consent; if in return for their labor they get not food, shelter, and clothes, but wages which often will not provide these things; if these conditions are enforced to the profit of others not by the slave-driver's whip, but by the fear of hunger and unemployment, sometimes created

and always taken advantage of by those who profit by them, is not this the essence of slavery? Most people have to work under compulsion, under the necessity of getting food and of caring for the family. But if some people can control, direct, and profit by the labor of others, without their consent, that is a form of slavery.

Is Labor a Commodity? Again, if labor is bought or sold in the market like any other raw material, if human life is treated as a thing and not as personality, there is an element of slavery present in the transaction. Jesus taught the eternal value of every human life, and through that teaching we have come to learn that a man must not be bought and sold. But if his labor power can be bought and sold by others, if it is not subject to the disposal of his own free choice, is he not then in deed and truth a slave, at least to that extent?

Benevolent Rulers. Many of the men who exercise great power in industry and seek to acquire still more, are well-meaning, kindly men. They belong to Christian churches, and in all the personal relations of life they maintain the standards of Jesus. They would do much good for their workers, they would carry on welfare activities and give them good wages and short hours and decent houses to live in. Sometimes they even believe in unions and will deal with them, but they want the workers to stay in one condition of life while their children enjoy another. Says one man, who has inherited a business which maintains his family in luxury and which he expects to pass on to his sons: "I am a friend to labor. I want the working-

men to have good living conditions. I am willing to recognize the unions." So far, good! But what he does not say and probably has never thought out is that he wants labor to stay in an inferior social position to that of his children in order that his descendants may live as he has been accustomed to live. That such men are good men does not affect the fundamental situation. Good slave-owners did not make slavery tolerable. Good kings do not make absolute monarchies bearable. As Lincoln said, "No man is good enough and wise enough to control the lives of his fellows."

The Answer of Labor. The assertion of despotic power has always spread rebellion, the claim of superior privilege has ever bred revolt. The spirit of man always answers in defiance those who attempt to rule him. Just as despotism and aristocracy have always spread strife in the world of government, so does it bring the same revolt in the world of work. This is the reason that the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations says there will be no cessation of industrial unrest until the principles of democracy are extended to the world of industry. Among the four major causes of industrial strife it puts denial of democratic control. The men who have been given a share in the control of the government will not be content to have no voice in the conditions under which they work, which in times of peace affect the welfare of themselves and their families more vitally than the conduct of the government. "No taxation without representation" is being changed to "no production without representation." The demand for industrial

democracy is the cry of millions of workers the world around. It is the unconquerable determination of American citizens.

Like Breeds Like. The worst feature of the attempt to establish despotism in industry is not that it creates rebellion, but that it breeds a similar spirit on the part of the workers. It is the testimony of employers that fair dealing, sympathy, and consideration meet with a similar response from those to whom they are manifested. On the other hand, those who suffer from tyranny and repression almost invariably manifest the same spirit when they get to power, especially if they have to make their way against opposition. The offensive, domineering labor boss is but a coarser replica of the financial magnate who seeks unlimited power. He maintains his hold over better men by the same plea that holds in power the militaristic rulers. The militarists urge that their policy is necessary for the defense of the people against the aggressors around them. But for this so-called service a bitter price is exacted. The fearful excesses of the common people when they seized power in the French revolution was the reaction to the brutal tyranny of the French rulers. It is and will be the same in the industrial world. It is not so much a group of men as a spirit that has to be dealt with. Wherever it manifests itself, the spread of despotism must be destroyed. If those who have intelligence, those who have received the teaching of brotherhood from the life of Jesus, turn aside and follow after the spirit of power and self-seeking, theirs must be the major blame for the conditions that result. With

greater knowledge and opportunity they have the greater responsibility and condemnation.

The World-wide Demand. Those well-meaning people who think that the demands of the workers are to be satisfied by better conditions are destined to a rude awakening. The world-wide industrial unrest is not simply the rumbling of empty stomachs, it is the stirring of the soul of man. It is another universal awakening of the human spirit. It can be seen and heard in far-off China and Japan where the workers, who for ages have been subordinates, are beginning to organize and to make themselves felt in the control of industry and in the policies of government. When political democracy is accomplished the world around, industrial democracy will receive a great impetus. Organized Christianity is facing one of the great upheavals of history. It is itself largely responsible for it. It must now meet the work of its own hands and voice. It must reckon with the consequences of its own missionary propaganda. They call it to larger tasks and greater effort. With what spirit of leadership shall it come to such an hour?

The Voice of the Churches. Already the churches have spoken on this matter. Says the Federal Council of Churches: "With the demand for industrial democracy the churches are intensely concerned, for democracy is the expression of Christianity." Its statement declares that the Christian ideal of the state cannot be realized until the principles of democracy are applied to industry, that the development of Christianity requires industrial peace; but this awaits industrial justice, which requires the same application

of the teachings of Jesus that has been made in the state. Therefore must the churches support all measures that make for industrial democracy. Says the Northern Baptist Convention: "The passion for democracy has become the master passion of our times. Some great religious body is needed that shall interpret this great principle not in word only but in life, and shall lead the world in its search for social and industrial democracy, and shall aid in its practical realization in society." Says the Methodist Episcopal General Conference: "The autocratic control of industry by any group of men without regard to the rights either of other groups who contribute to the industrial process or of the public, is contrary to Christian standards." Says *Home Mission Methods* of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.: "The church may not evade the social issue which exacts of religious institutions a share in effecting absolutely necessary economic adjustments." Says the *Social Service Message* of the Men and Religion Movement: "Industrial democracy is our Christian destiny, and henceforth a man's Christianity will have to be measured to some degree by the willingness and enthusiasm with which he sets his face to meet that destiny."

Even in War Time. In the midst of the world war the yearly message of the London Society of Friends declares: "That we have now come to realize that the conditions under which, either by necessity or choice, men and women are spending their lives are also a condemnation of the standards of Christianity almost universally accepted to-day." Then mentioning practical remedies that have been suggested, it says: "But

we are convinced that it is something much more than this that is wanted, if a Christian social order is to be attained. It is to be noted that labor in its struggle for emancipation is seeking not only improvement of material conditions, but freedom to live a fuller life. We base our position on our loyalty to Jesus, with thought of service to the uttermost, and on our belief of the divine in every man, with all its implications. On those we must found an ideal of life and prepare to develop it steadily and apply it fearlessly—in so far as society as we know it is based on ignoble or inferior aims. If war or industry or social convention treats the individual as a pawn or as a means and not an end, it is in antagonism to Christ. Where the resources of life are used as means to selfish gain and power and not to the satisfaction of the common needs of men, we cannot consistently acquiesce."

Accepting the Challenge. It is evident then that the leaders of the churches are hearing the challenge from the awakening working classes. This great multitude, which is now for the first time in history beginning to speak and to act, is looking for help to the organization which stands for the liberty and the freedom of the gospel. Said the strikers in a Middle-Western, American, church-filled community in explanation of their bitter attitude toward the leading employer, who was also a prominent churchman and had done many good things for his workers: "He called us 'Brother' in the church, but when our committee wanted to see him about the way his foremen were robbing us, he refused to talk to us. That kind of brotherhood is a fake and a fraud; we have no use for it." The church

faces the obligation of seeing that the brotherhood it has preached becomes a fact in the working world. We have named the Name; we must now do the will in all sincerity, whatever the cost.

Will It Work? To many men confronted with the hard necessities of financial, industrial, and commercial management, the talk of industrial democracy seems an idle dream. It appears to be but the foolishness of preaching. The same objections that have been urged against every extension of political power to the masses are now brought forward. "They are uneducated." "They are not capable of controlling themselves." "They are inefficient." But education and the opportunity to share in government and in the control of industry are rapidly developing efficiency in the workers. "You cannot work a joint trade board in an industry like ours," said the manufacturers; "there are too many detailed operations. Besides, the workers are immigrants of many nationalities." But finally they tried it. It settled not only every dispute that led to the strike, but every dispute that has arisen since. "Now," the leading employer says, "we would not go back to the old method for anything. It is a pleasure to walk among the people in any of our factories."

The Substance of Things Hoped For. When Jesus first talked about brotherhood, it seemed a vainer word than it does now. Everywhere brute power was in control. It ruled in the state with iron hand. It dominated the home where the father had power of life and death. But the law of love has replaced the law of power in the family circle and in government in

most countries on the face of the earth, and its progress still continues without a backward step. Democracy is a fact to-day beyond the dreams of the men who sympathetically heard Jesus' talk. Those who now propose to carry the law of brotherhood and of service over into the working world have behind them what has been accomplished in the family and in the state. They can point with assurance to the loving, cooperative family group—to the democratic, brotherly state.

The Voice of the Worker. The first attempt to change the relationship between master and man in the great organized industries is the demand of the workers that they may bring complaints about working conditions directly to those in responsible management. The right to select a committee and have the committee heard is often the fighting point round which a strike develops. This is a similar issue to the old right of petition which was so long an occasion of struggle in the world of government. In one of the historic strikes in this country which was investigated by the Federal Council of Churches and by the United States government, the beginning of the trouble was the discharge of a committee of the men appointed to ask for one day's rest in seven. In another large and significant strike the girls in one of the factories determined to go down and make known to the head of the industry their complaints concerning the abuses of the foremen. After passing with difficulty all the intermediaries in the office, they finally reached the great man himself. He recognized the justice of their case, but in order not to interfere with discipline, he

told them to go back to the factory and the matter would be adjusted by the foreman. Then he called up the foreman and ordered the changes made. But the girls were afraid to go back and face the petty tyrant who had been the cause of their trouble. On the way back they decided to strike, and their action was the beginning of a conflict that finally involved a hundred thousand people. Has the church a missionary message for such a situation in that word of the Master's, "Ye know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them. . . . Not so shall it be among you"?

The Right to Organize. The next expression of a changed relationship between master and man is in those permanent national and international organizations of the workers which voice their grievances, express their aspirations, and make agreements with employees as to working conditions through their appointed representatives. The trade union is the beginning of representative government in the workshop. It establishes a regular piece of machinery through which the workers participate in the management of the industry. Such participation would appear to be a fundamental right. The Federal Council of Churches stands "for the equal rights of employers and employees alike to organize"; yet the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations reports that one of the four main sources from which comes the industrial unrest of this country, is the denial of the workers' right and opportunity to form effective organizations. In some of the leading industries of this country that right has been aggressively denied by organized associations of employers.

Two Methods. A current news item reports that a city manufacturers' association, at the instigation of the state association, has taken a united and definite stand against labor unions. After this country entered the war, the National Association of Manufacturers enthusiastically applauded a fervent speech exhorting them in the name of "true leadership" to organize a nation-wide offensive against the American Federation of Labor. The speaker inveighed against the "irresponsible domination of organized labor," and to support this invective much local evidence is available. Organized labor brings exactly the same charge of autocratic control against organized capital. Must the community continually suffer from the domination of one class or the other? Can it not end class domination by accepting the democratic principle of joint industrial control which the organized workers propose, and then requiring them to live up to it? The head of the special mission to this country from the British Ministry of Munitions, himself an employer, declared that the success of that department was in large measure due to the adherence of organized labor.

Trade Agreements. Some years ago in this country there was a long and bitter anthracite strike which seriously discommoded the country. It was finally settled by joint agreement between the employers, the workers, and some men representing the public, sitting in a special commission. In 1917 the chosen representatives of the miners and operators in the anthracite coal-field sat down together to consider whether or not the men should have an increase in

wages, although a year ago they had signed a contract as to hours and wages, covering a longer period. The miners asked for the conference because of the increased cost of living, stating that in no event would they strike in violation of their agreement. As a result, the operators agreed to give the men a twenty per cent. increase. A few weeks earlier the same thing occurred with the bituminous miners. Without joint trade agreements, without somebody to represent the workers and bring the injustice of their situation to the attention of the operators, there would in all probability have been widespread strikes, dislocating the industry of the country at a very serious time. A few years ago in the same industry in another state, there was a severe strike with much bloodshed. A leader in that fight on the side of capital, who had been one of the most bitter opponents of organized labor, recently signed an agreement with the very labor organization with whose representatives he had formerly emphatically refused to confer. These facts are evidence that joint trade agreements tend to promote peace both for industry and the community.

A Question. Yet the situation in the coal industry a few years ago was practically hopeless, according to a report of the United States Department of Labor, because the German, English, Irish, Scotch, and Welsh miners had been supplanted gradually by immigrants from southern and eastern Europe—Lithuanians, Poles, Slovaks, Bohemians, and South Italians. They were working for less than a living wage. Their families were being forced prematurely

into the breakers and mills. There was practically no protest against the conditions. When local labor disturbances did occur, the services of immigrant clergy "as mediators and arbitrators were often used for the primary purpose of maintaining peace with the operators rather than for the betterment of the conditions. The continuous change in the composition of the mine workers was not only an evidence in itself of wages too low and opportunity for earnings too slight to maintain the standard of living required by the native German or British worker, but it established the employer in an autocracy more absolute than ever before. Any possibility of an autonomous, spontaneous organization of workers, of sufficient power to bargain collectively with their employers, was almost, if not quite inconceivable." The government report well concludes that "there has not been a more notable chapter in the history of American capital and labor than the transition in the anthracite coal-field of Pennsylvania from a situation in which trade agreements were believed to be impossible into a well-developed form of collective bargaining and an unusually efficient system of conciliation and arbitration of disputes. Surely an organization which has brought this group of people in a peaceful, orderly manner to take their part in the control of a great industry so that its affairs can be adjusted without disturbance of the welfare of the nation, is entitled to some respect and consideration from the church which is also trying to better the condition of these same immigrants.

Some Expert Testimony. Says the Federal Com-

mission on Industrial Relations: "The conditions of employment can be most satisfactorily fixed by joint agreements between associations of employers and trade unions." The Commission points out that "it becomes possible to regulate the trade or the industry, not merely with reference to wages and hours, but with reference to unemployment, the recruiting of the trade, and the introduction of machinery and new processes." It believes that this method is superior to legislative enactment because it "more nearly achieves the ideal of fundamental democracy that government should to the greatest possible extent consist of agreements and understandings voluntarily made." Moreover this method covers many trade problems to which legislation cannot be applied. It points out that joint agreements on the whole are well kept; "there is a consistent increase in the sense of moral obligation on the part of both employers and unions." It recommends "the extension of joint agreements as regards not only the field of industry which they cover and the class of labor included, but the subjects which are taken up for negotiation and settlement."

In War Time. Under the pressure of war necessities much progress has been made in setting up machinery to prevent industrial disturbance. In England the government has worked out a plan for the democratic control of industry between organized capital, organized labor, and the state, during and after the war, by joint boards—national, district, and local—for each industry. This amounts to government recognition of organized labor, which is held correspondingly responsible. In this country a special com-

mission appointed by the President to deal with industrial disputes has been substituting democratic methods of conciliation and agreement for strife and warfare. One paragraph in such an agreement reads: "It is understood that this machinery will take the place of strikes or lockouts during the period of the war, and no other method for regulating relations between employers and employed shall be substituted except by mutual agreement."

The Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor has recently agreed that there shall be no more strikes over jurisdictional matters throughout the duration of the war. When a dispute arises, instead of the protesting union's calling a strike, the presidents of the two unions involved must go to the scene of the trouble and endeavor to adjust it. If they fail to agree, the final decision rests with the president of the Building Trades Department. This relieves employers and the public from the intolerable annoyance and suffering which has continually been caused by strikes over disputes between different unions.

A Social Force. There are many blunders and some crimes to be charged against organized labor in this country, but these constitute no reason to deny the right of labor to organize. The recognition of that right and the measures to make it effective are indispensable to the well-being of labor, the stability of industry, and the security of the community. The trade union has furnished the workers with protection against the aggression of unscrupulous leaders of capital; it has shortened their hours and raised

their wages; it has helped them to learn self-control and has developed them in the school of democracy. Carroll D. Wright says it has done more to Americanize the immigrant than any other agency. It has also secured great social advance for the whole community. It has called attention to the need of social legislation, and largely formulated such a program. Most significant of all, it has established relations of partnership between employer and employee in its trade agreements. In place of the old relation of master and man, superior and inferior, it puts the relation of two groups collectively bargaining together on terms of equality concerning how they will work together. This is clearly a step in the direction of the brotherhood taught by Jesus.

The Test. Says the Federal Commission: "Greater responsibility for the character and conduct of their members should accompany the greater participation of trade unions in the governing of industry." The real test of these organizations is whether they make for democracy. If they are to be simply the aristocratic associations of skilled workers, seeking their own advantage, their day is short. If they are to join with associations of employers in holding up the rest of the community for the mutual profit of both sides, they become a menace to the community that must be sternly checked. Their value to the community depends upon how far they will go in the direction of that brotherhood which Jesus taught. In one of our historic strikes the employer offered to grant all the demands of the skilled workers if only they would forsake the unskilled immigrants whom they had lately

organized, and for whom they were asking a small increase in wage. They refused, and eventually lost the strike. Recently in a large firm which has a joint board of control that decides all working conditions, the time of work was cut three hours a week and wages were raised ten per cent. The employees decided to distribute five per cent. of the increase among all the workers to reimburse them for the amount lost by the cut in hours, and appropriated the other five per cent. to the lowest-paid groups, raising them from ten to twenty-five per cent. If industrial democracy can thus teach privileged people to help the weak, let us by all means have more of it! In so far as organized labor seeks not simply its own, but the good of the people below it and the good of the whole community, it is rendering a great service to society. To make it more effective in these directions and because it is developing the methods for the expression of the Christian ideal of democracy in industry, the church must seek to cooperate with organized labor for the common welfare of the community. The joint trade agreement is however only the beginning of the change in the relations of master and man required by the teachings of Jesus. It is a half-way house toward industrial democracy.

The Next Step. The head of an organization which furnishes reports on business conditions to leaders of industry and finance recently informed them that in his judgment there is only one solution to the industrial conflict, and that is to make the workers themselves the owners of industry. This is the consensus of opinion of those who have studied the question

both theoretically and practically. When all workers are owners and all owners are workers, the fundamental cause of industrial conflict will be removed. The next advance in industrial democracy is to give the workers not only a share in the management, but also a share in the ownership of the concern. This is being done in many corporations by giving the employees the opportunity to purchase stock on favorable terms. Carried to its conclusion, this process will eliminate the superior position and power which has been gained by the capitalist group in their concentrated ownership of the things upon which the life and labor of others depend. The steps by which this conclusion is to be reached only further experiment can determine. The compulsion is upon us to discover the full economic meaning of Christian brotherhood. It is a day of adventure in Christian living. The pioneers in the industrial work who are finding out the methods by which relations of brotherhood may be established both in the management and the ownership of industry are indeed missionaries of the gospel. They challenge organized religion to cross new frontiers. The Christian in business must become a herald of the evangel.

Doers of the Word. There is a new world to be made. Our opportunities, through modern invention and organization, to express life in higher forms than the race has ever yet lived it, were never known to any other people. We have a clear knowledge of the principles that must be expressed. Jesus gave them to us, and in doing it he fulfilled the law and the prophets and voiced the common aspirations of man-

kind. They drive us forward, and the stars of our ideals call us. Who will answer this challenge?

Labor Copartnership. The workers themselves have found out how they may become owners of industry. They have worked out the principle of cooperative ownership in several countries. They own and carry on stores, wholesale and retail; they own and operate factories; they conduct their own farms;—all cooperatively. They have taught the farmers of Ireland and Denmark how to work and sell their produce together. In these associations the workers are the managers. Whatever profits they make go to themselves. There are no other stockholders to pay. The cooperative societies of Europe are doing business amounting to millions of dollars yearly with great efficiency. Their records make a dramatic story of the gradual development of a missionary spirit and purpose. They continually set aside a part of their profits for the extension of the gospel of cooperation. Many of them feel themselves to be expressing God through brotherhood in the working world. In this country cooperation is developing in rural communities. Farmers frequently get together to buy their needed supplies or to own and use machinery in common. Recently a prosperous landowner decided that it was his religious duty to help his tenants to get farms of their own through his ability to furnish them with capital on a cooperative plan. Under the leadership and inspiration of a preacher in a fruit-raising community, the growers organized a cooperative company to sell their products and a joint stock canning factory to dispose of their surplus. Men who do such

things are expressing the gospel in new terms. It becomes closer and more real to their lives.

Progress in Cooperation. At its 1917 session the American Federation of Labor decided to put a lecturer and organizer in the field to promote cooperative purchasing societies among trade unionists. In England the 3,500,000 members of industrial cooperative societies have just decided to enter the field of direct political action in close alliance with the Labor Party. This means that all the labor forces of England will agree on a parliamentary program to work out the principle of cooperative ownership. Because such action is a further step forward in the working out of the Christian ideal of industrial democracy, the churches are challenged to cooperate with all forces and support all measures that make for joint industrial ownership.

A Remarkable Case. A preacher who has been doing home missionary work among the lumber-workers of a Western state found many of the shingle weavers out of work. The shingle-mills were shut down. He developed a plan for the men to acquire and conduct the mills cooperatively. Over twenty cooperative shingle-mills, with a capital value of close to $250,000 are now being run by the men, who are working for themselves. Many of these men are I. W. W.'s, homeless, nomadic workers, called "blanket stiffs" by stable citizens in derision, despised as the scum of the earth. Under the stimulus of ownership such men have proved themselves capable of becoming good industrial managers. It is another evidence of the truth that if men "seek first the kingdom of God and his

righteousness," the other things will come. Could that preacher have done any more effective piece of missionary work?

Working with God. Our missionary task in the industrial world is to make work religious, not simply to get the workers to church. It is not merely to get men to name the name of Jesus, but to get business done in accordance with his spirit and teaching. The special duty of the church in relation to industry is to secure the acceptance of certain principles. Those who would undertake this task must begin by recognizing the rights of the workers; they must be willing to meet them as equals, to treat them as persons and not as things. Followers of Jesus cannot consistently use others as tools to make their profit and comfort. They are under obligation to work with them as brothers that together they may come to find God, their common Father, and express him in the work of the world. When men learn how to work, not for the selfish ends of themselves and their group, but in all high service to the common good, then God will be expressed in the working world. As he was revealed of old at the carpenter's bench, so men shall see him again in a million workshops, mines, and factories the world around.

World-wide Results. The gospel has brought hope and life to millions of downtrodden workers in India by destroying the caste system that held them in degradation. There are other millions of toilers who are waiting for the gospel to destroy the caste that is founded on economic power in America and Europe, just as it destroys the caste that is sustained by re-

ligion and yet based upon economic power in India. Will the church accept this mission task? There are world-wide consequences here. This nation desires democracy to spread in order that all peoples may be free and the world may be safe for all. But democracy is more than a question of government. It involves industrial relations. The question of master and men, of labor and capital, is also the question of the relations between the stronger and the weaker nations. Are the yellow and the black races always to be hewers of wood and drawers of water and makers of profit for the white people? Are the nations which own the capital and machinery, the science and the invention, to have control of the undeveloped resources of the earth and the labor of the backward peoples, taking the first fruits for themselves? Are they to lead in dominating the trade routes and the markets of the earth? Or will they be brothers to the weaker nations and show them how to develop their own resources and powers? Will they serve them in the economic world as in the mission field? The world need and the world program is one. If we would spread democracy and Christianity throughout the world, we must work them out here in the United States. If this nation can learn how to work together to meet the common needs, not as masters and men, but as brothers, then it may help the nations so to work and thus find the path to permanent peace.

VII

MEN AND THINGS

Aim: *To show that the final step in making industry Christian is to apply the principle of Jesus to the relations of men to property.*

VII

MEN AND THINGS

Why Men Fight. The common people of Europe who are suffering most from the war are constantly wondering what it is all about. The thinkers of the world are trying to discover the reasons why men should fight, why the world should be plunged into such horror of suffering. The same questions come out of the industrial conflict, both from those who suffer in it and from those who observe it. Why should there be continually wars and rumors of wars, fighting and bloodshed in the work process of the nation? This industrial conflict is a replica of war. Why? Is it because men cannot agree upon the management of industry, or because they cannot agree upon how to divide its product? Out of both of these questions conflict develops. It has a twofold aspect. On the one hand it concerns the relations of men to each other. On the other hand it concerns their joint relation to the things on which industry depends. Here are the great natural resources of the earth which God has created for the development of mankind. Out of them is made by human labor the wealth on which the world subsists. From them come food and clothes and shelter, education, inventions, comforts, luxuries. The industrial conflict centers about the question of the terms upon which men shall use these natural resources, how they shall control them, how

they shall divide the wealth which comes out of them. Before a right relationship of men to each other can be completed, there must be discovered the right relationship which all men together must hold to these goods upon which the development of life depends.

The Economic Conflict. On the surface, as we have seen, the industrial conflict is a struggle between two groups—the "have's" and the "have-not's," the producers and the possessors. It is a contest in which each side strives to get more of the goods of life. This is the widest aspect of the competitive system of industry, which not only puts man against man, but finally group against group. Its continued warfare becomes intolerable to those who have seen the ideal of fraternal, helpful living that Jesus taught. Recently a thirteen-year-old boy said, "Sometimes I feel like committing suicide; it seems that there is no way out of things." Being pressed to make clear what he meant, he said, "Oh, whatever you try to do, some other fellow is trying to get ahead of you or you're trying to get ahead of him. One fellow only gets up by pushing another fellow down." When the competitive struggle is enlarged into a contest between two classes in society, its waste becomes greater, its challenge to the Christian conscience more acute.

A Deeper Issue. But the conflict goes deeper. When the question of justice in the distribution of income is raised, it develops into the question of the ownership and use of property. Should it belong to the individual or to the community? Or should one kind of property be held by individuals and another by the community? There is an antagonism of opinion here

developing out of the different interests of those who have little and those who have much. But the issue goes deeper still. It goes past the question of the ownership of property to the question of its very nature; it raises not merely the issue of its control and use, but the question of its place and value in life. Here is a spiritual conflict, a battle of ideas and ideals, and the lines are not divided according to possession, nor views of ownership. That a man has little, or that he believes in cooperative ownership is no guaranty that he has discovered the spiritual meaning of property. Because a man seeks for justice in the distribution of wealth is no evidence that he appreciates the full human values and uses of wealth.

Extent of the Conflict. The struggle over goods is largely determining to-day the form and character of government, whose activities are concerned more and more with the regulation of industry. It is a great international issue. The fundamental cause of friction between nations is the competitive struggle for the wealth of the world. Diplomacy now centers around the control of the undeveloped territories of the earth, of the trade routes, of the opening markets. The making of all future wars, the seeds of all coming conflicts, are present in this economic struggle. Unless men can discover together a different relation to property, there is no prospect of ending war. No diplomatic agreements will avail in the face of this continued antagonism. If the natural resources of the earth are to be the prize of the stronger, richer, more powerful nations, if the weaker peoples of the earth are permanently to serve the great nations by working for

their profit, surely there can be no peace in the earth.

The Great God Mammon. It is recorded in the Scripture how an ancient king set up a great idol in the plain of Dura and bade all the officers of his kingdom to fall down and worship it. To-day the nations of the earth have set up the god Mammon, and our civilization is worshiping it. Our industrial system seeks to increase goods rather than to develop humanity. Property is mighty. The man of wealth meets instinctively with deference and respect, whether it be from the policeman on the street corner or the judge upon the bench. The store will give him credit which it will deny to the poor man. He comes before the legislature with standing and prestige. The church gives him high place in recognition of his ability, sometimes without stopping to consider whether success in money-making is the only or the best evidence of ability and of the kind of ability that Christianity requires for its highest expression and extension. The "mark of the beast" is all over our civilization. The slimy trail of profit is everywhere. Our great organized iniquities, the institutions that destroy the bodies and souls of the people—the liquor traffic, prostitution, child labor, the unhealthy occupations of women—all these are conducted for profit. It is the great motive of gain, the desire to amass property, which strengthens all the evil instincts of mankind. Those who stand out against this common practise of the exaltation of property are as noticeable as the three young men who refused to fall down and worship the golden image of old. Is the fact that our civilization is an organized struggle after material things the real reason

for the industrial conflict? Is this the underlying sin that breaks out in its struggle?

Why Men Work. To get light upon this question, to see whether this is a fair indictment of our civilization, ask the average wage-earner why he works. His simple answer will be, because he must get a living. If he is a single man, he knows that he must work if he would eat; it is the compulsion of circumstance, the need for bread, that sends him to toil. If he is married, it is the need of his family. It is the compulsion of home duties, the necessity of food and clothes and shelter and education for the children that furnishes the great common stimulus to the working energies of men. Talk to the salaried group and it is the same thing. It is a higher standard of living that they seek for their families. Many of the people who strive for great wealth when already they have more than sufficient to provide a proper standard of living for their families are still driven by the same motive. Not knowing the worth of the simple life, they now seek luxury for their families; they desire to give them every possible indulgence. Family well-being is undoubtedly the greatest single motive in the working world. Then why should men fight over their work? If they are commonly seeking to maintain their families, why should they not be able to do this in peace and safety together?

The Lure of the Game. For those who have achieved success in the struggle to provide for the family, another motive comes into the working world. The big men of business pursue the game of money-making from mixed motives. Partly they play the

"The only visible goal, the only apparent motive of our industrial system is the production of things. . . . The making of all future wars, the seeds of all coming conflicts are present in this economic struggle. Unless men can discover together a different relation to property, there is no prospect of ending war."

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game for the sake of the game itself. The love of playing it has caught them so that they may not escape from its snare. They have themselves become slaves to their own property, which drives them and compels them for its protection to develop it into still greater wealth. Partly, too, men seek to amass great fortunes because money is both the fact and sign of power. This is the dominant motive. Wealth gives power to tax the labor and control the lives of others. It gives dominance to-day akin to that of the mastery of armies in other times. The luxury and extravagance of the family, the larger house, the big grounds, the finer clothing—these are the emblems of power, the insignia of success. Men work and struggle for these as proofs that they have acquired the mastery of others.

The Two Motives. Two motives then appear in this industrial struggle; the motive of the desire for the necessities of life and the motive for power. The former is evidently a religious duty, the latter usually professes piety. In Europe there is the Kaiser, claiming to be the servant of God, assuming God's protection and seeking ever more power over his fellow men. Here there are great Americans—millionaires, corporation leaders, Christian men—claiming to be the servants of God and striving constantly to enlarge their trade and their millions, also seeking to get more power over their fellows. They have even been taught that the ability to get rich is a Christian virtue, as long as the riches are properly used, especially if they are given to the church. Thus the struggle to get more goods is given the blessing of religion, and the

natural selfishness and greed of men becomes protected by piety, just as the love of power in kings and emperors is also given the sanction of religion and thereby made more intense and more dangerous. The common people who feel the effects of an industrial system in which the strong climb to power on the backs of the weak, are asking how far it represents the teaching of him who came "not to be ministered unto but to minister," who told his followers to be the servants of others. What will the church answer? Has it a gospel for the making of wealth as well as for the use of it? Does it believe with its Master that service can become a more powerful motive than profit or power, and that greater rewards than fortunes can be found for ability?

The Demand for More. No fortune seems to be adequate to glut the ambitions of men. Few people are ever satisfied. All the world is crying for more. Some want more of a living and others more luxury. The battle is to the strong and the spoils to the victor. The work life of the world is organized to make more goods and still more. The only visible goal, the only apparent motive of our industrial system is the production of things. It is not yet conscious of making these things because they are needed to develop human life, but only because that is the way to get rich. It is like the man in the Scriptures who would pull down his barns and build greater. Many professing Christians follow the custom. Said a church-member, "I can make my business the greatest of its kind in the world. I can make a fortune of several million dollars. Why should I not do this?" Said a man and

his wife, both college graduates, the most efficient farmers in their community, "Our ambition is to own at least ten farms and leave them to our children." This was in a section where land was worth $300 to $350 an acre. Such forms does ambition take even under Christian teaching, when that teaching is offset by a social order that is seeking first not the kingdom of God, but to add to itself "these things." An increasing number of people are emancipating themselves from the pagan struggle for gain, but they are yet only the little company who have not bowed the knee to Baal. Those who are the loudest in their outcries against the worship of Mammon are oftentimes conquered by its spirit and motives. Many of those who attack most bitterly the methods of the men of great wealth would themselves do the same things with the same opportunity. The lust for gain and power is a disease that runs through the whole body politic.

Some Results. The result of the unlimited struggle for wealth is its concentration in the hands of the strong. This means luxury and poverty side by side. The most recent study of the distribution of wealth in the United States concludes that the poorest sixty-five per cent. of the people control not much more than a twentieth part of the property, that the richest two per cent. of the people own considerably more property than all the rest of the population. It also states that in all civilized nations most of the wealth is in the possession of one fifth of the inhabitants. This means not only the concentration of wealth but also the concentration of power. It means the ability of

the group of property-owners to give their children better physical and mental development than can be given the children of those without property. It means the growth of a special privileged class at one end of society and at the other the development of an undernourished, undereducated class. Such conditions generate and spread jealousy, envy, and hatred. The historians point out that these were the conditions that preceded the fall of ancient civilizations. No nation has yet been able to endure long the consequences of extreme concentration of wealth. These facts raise a duty before organized religion. If it would save America, it must deal with this question of property—its development, its ownership and its use—just as did the prophets and Jesus.

Reform or Reconstruction? As the churches face this issue, they must decide whether they will stand for reform or reconstruction of the world of work or for both. Will the industrial system be made Christian by simply changing the rules of the game, by stopping men from cheating, from being unfair and rough and brutal, or must the character of the game itself be changed? Will better management do what Christianity demands in the industrial world, or must the whole nature of the work process be changed? It is like asking the question "can war be humanized?" By what rules can the deadly game of killing be made to conform with the ideals of Christianity? In industry the question goes deeper still. Suppose we change one part of the nature of the game and substitute a cooperative management of industry. Suppose we abolish the competitive struggle and in

its place organize the cooperative commonwealth,—will this then remove all the injustice, the bitterness, and the cruelty of industry? The answer depends upon what purpose is behind the cooperative commonwealth. For what end is it being managed? To what goal is it working? Why does it make goods? If those who would change the nature of the management and control of the system of producing and distributing the goods needed by mankind have no higher purpose than to make and distribute things more abundantly, if there is nothing calling them except the satisfaction of the desire for comfortable living, they can never overcome the selfishness of mankind or stop the industrial conflict. The real bondage of the toiling multitudes lies deeper than the rule of one group over another. It is the slavery of all society to low ideals, to base desires, it is the enslavement of the spirit of man to the things of earth. It is the "pride of life, the desire of the eyes, the lusts of the flesh." The emancipation of the workers waits upon the general acceptance of a new ideal of social living.

The Challenge of Jesus. Jesus saw clearly the nature of the kingdom of this world. He declared that those who would be religious could not serve God and Mammon. He knew that here was the final point of conflict. He saw into the heart of man. He understood the evil that was in the world and challenged it upon its throne. He sought to establish another kingdom with an entirely different basis, a kingdom which put righteousness before the increase of wealth, whose motive was service and not profit, and whose citizens

must renounce all allegiance to Mammon. The development of Christianity justifies this emphasis in his teaching. Is not the last struggle of the church against evil the struggle to overcome the desire for gain? The first issue which the Christian community joined with pagan civilization concerned the sins of the flesh. But in many a life, long after the battle for purity has been won, there remains to be fought the struggle for release from the desire for possessions. Among the followers of Jesus there is still a large field for the missionary extension of the gospel in the relations of men to property.

The Danger of Riches. There is no more significant part of Jesus' teaching than his discussion of wealth. There is no more significant aspect of his social relationships than his contact with the wealthy. Great fortunes were being made in his day. They were made in much the same way in which they are developed in our own times. The men of strength used their strength to exploit the common people. There was brutal luxury and ghastly poverty. In the Roman world the rich were approaching degeneracy and leading civilization to destruction. A man like Julius Cæsar had to leave Rome to recruit his fortunes after the expenditures of profligate living. In such a situation Jesus did not confuse rich men with riches. With rich men he had friendly fellowship, but in it there was always the note of warning and of exhortation for the peril of their position. He showed them no deference, but only the same respect with which he approached every personality. He was seeking no subscription. He discharged his duty to their

souls. He showed them how hard it was for them to enter the kingdom because of the difficulty of maintaining the fellowship of God and men in which the kingdom consists when one is set for the pursuit of riches. That quest often masters a man's time, attention, and energy to the exclusion of the needs of humanity, and even to the neglect of his own family. Jesus' message to a wealthy and wealth-seeking world is: What shall it profit a man, or a nation, or humanity, if it can increase goods, and in the doing of it lose its own soul? It is a message which must be cried in the ear of our material civilization.

The Blessings of Poverty. How different is Jesus' attitude to the poor and the helpless! He did not say, "blessed is poverty," but "blessed are the poor." Is that our modern Christian attitude toward them or do we in effect curse them because they are weak or shiftless or lazy? Do we treat them as though they were delinquent, to be punished because they have not made more money or merely as cases to be studied and analyzed? As we give or send to them our missions or settlements, do we in our self-righteousness thank God we are not as they? Do we exalt poverty as a blessing when we are unwilling ourselves to share it or to have our children endure it? Blessed indeed is the poverty of the simple life that means health and freedom from the cares of riches, that stimulates energy and development. But cursed is the poverty that means deprivation, that involves the lack of necessities, that means undernourished children, bad housing, little education, and poor moral protection and spiritual development. Blessed indeed are the

poor who have set themselves free from the bondage of goods and learned to live as Jesus did, emancipated from the fetters of surplus property, but able to secure sufficient for the full development of life. The doctrine of simple living must be taught until it becomes the recognized rule of all the people, because it means the abundant life made possible for all. But those who would carry it to the poor must first have learned to express it in their own lives.

Ruler or Servant? Jesus recognizes the necessity of goods. There is a place for property in his scheme of life. He tells the disciples to pray for bread. "All these things," he says, "shall be added." The development of life depends upon getting enough of the right kind of goods. Without the means to nourish all its faculties, it cannot reach its full stature. To teach people how to select the things that make for the highest life and then leave them unable to secure these things is to mock them. A poverty-stricken population has little culture and religion. The kingdom of God in its fulness depends not only upon knowledge and righteousness and love but also upon income. The desire for more goods is one of the forces of spiritual progress, when controlled in the interests of all the people, and directed to making a better world for to-morrow. But this spiritual force becomes destructive when it is followed for selfish ends. If one seeks merely the good of his own family, then he becomes selfish and perhaps an exploiter of his brother men. That is why prosperity is so hard to stand, because it is sought and used for selfish ends. The sudden increase of wealth, whether it be the

wages of munition workers or the millionaires of a new trust, usually means the disruption of morals and of family life. Like fire, property is a bad master but a fine servant. Jesus made it a means to the end of developing the kingdom of God upon the earth. Only those who have learned this lesson are able to withstand its dangers.

The Place of Prosperity. Neither were the prophets nor was Jesus afraid of prosperity. They talk constantly of a land "flowing with milk and honey," of peace and plenty, of more abundant life, "a hundredfold more in this world," as well as life everlasting in the world to come. This is because goods are considered, not as an end to be sought for their own sake, but a means to the greater end of spiritual living. To seek prosperity merely for its own sake is to leave men like fatted swine, slumbering in their sties in ignoble contentment. To use goods as a means to a higher end is to spur men continually to justice and righteousness and to further development of the soul. "What need will there be for the social passion?" said a worker for social reconstruction, "when men have all the goods they need?" This is to leave men wallowing in the muck of material contentment. But the followers of him who said, "Be ye therefore perfect even as your Father in heaven is perfect," are continually climbing new mountain ranges of living, and they use the things of this world to make them strong for the adventure.

Property and Life. One of the social principles of Jesus, underlying his whole ministry, is that the development of life and not of things is the true goal of

social living. In every land and in all the development of civilization there has been a constant struggle between property and life. The dean of the Harvard Law School says that the greatest gain in thought in the last century was the transference of value from the sphere of property to the sphere of human life. Here is evidence of the spread of Christianity, but even in this twentieth Christian century so much of pagan law and custom still remains that in many instances the life of the worker has been held of less worth than the property right of the employer. In one state a workmen's compensation law to take the burden of industrial accident from the backs of the overloaded workers and put it on the industry that employed them and thence on the shoulders of the whole community was thrown out of the supreme court on the ground that it interfered with the employer's property without due process of law. There was no recognition of the fact that the unprotected worker's life was being taken away from him and his earnings from his family without due process of law. In order to prevent judicial decisions which treat labor merely as property a clause was inserted in the last anti-trust bill which declares that labor is not a commodity. Labor leaders have declared that they will not obey court decisions which treat their people merely as property. They protest that they are not mere material for the making of goods, but immortal souls. Our whole social welfare legislation proceeds on this basis. Its framers have heard the words of Jesus that a man is more than a sheep—meaning in modern times that he is more than all property. This teaching of com-

parative values comes out of the ancient Hebrew law. The prior right of humanity over property was established in the legislation which permitted the hungry worker to gather the grain in the wheat-field. It was the property of the owner, but the hungry man must be fed. For the strength of the community, the satisfaction of his need was more important than private rights in property. Jesus even declared that the needs of the hungry man were superior to the rights of property dedicated to sacred purposes. When he justified David for taking the shewbread upon the altar he taught that nothing was more sacred than human need. This principle has far-reaching implications.

A Missionary Objective. Those who set themselves to carry out the teachings of Jesus in modern life must apply this principle of life's superiority to property in its furthest outreachings. It has already been established in measures protecting women and children in industry and in other social legislation which both uses property and limits its rights in order to develop the higher human interests of the community. The principle will go very much further than these reform measures. Its application involves reconstruction. It will require a new motive in the whole world of work. It will mean that the process of industry has to be regenerated, that it has to find a new spirit and a new purpose. The world of work has been seeking goods largely for their own sake without any conception of their meaning. Hence it has found itself involved in all struggle and strife. The acquisitive instinct, the desire to gather possessions, which is behind this situation, is one of the fundamental social instincts. It

cannot be eradicated, but like the instinct of sex, it can be guided and directed toward high ideals. It can be used for spiritual ends. It can be saved from becoming an instrument of destruction and can be made a means for the development of the higher life of the individual and of society. The final missionary task of Christianity in the world of work is to change the direction and goal of the acquisitive instinct.

Spiritualizing Wealth Production. There is a teaching which declares that the manner in which society produces and distributes the goods necessary to its well-being and development determines its form and character. The advocates of this philosophy have spread it among the wage-earners with true missionary fervor. To change the economic system is to change all of life, in their belief. But the economic system, in the last analysis, consists in certain working relationships between men, and between them and the things they need for life. We have seen how these relationships affect the welfare of individuals and of the community. We have also seen how they can be changed. This knowledge enables us to answer the challenge of working-class philosophers to change the economic system, with the determination to control the whole process of wealth-making and wealth-sharing by wills which are set in harmony with the will of the Eternal, which are determined to work out his justice and righteousness in human brotherhood.

The Use of Property. The churches have already declared themselves through the Federal Council as standing for "a new emphasis upon the Christian principles in relation to the acquisition and use of prop-

erty." This latest missionary enterprise, like the first, must begin at Jerusalem. There has long been a teaching in the Christian church concerning the use of the property which a man has acquired. This teaching is based upon the principle of stewardship. It declares that all that a Christian owns, after the welfare of those dependent upon him is provided for, should be used for the extension of the gospel. This principle of stewardship rests back on the absolute ownership of God. It declares that he, and he alone, is the final owner of all wealth, because the natural resources from which it comes were created by him; that therefore when the labor of men turns these resources into things valuable to society, this wealth must be regarded as a trust, and its maker as a trustee who must give account of his stewardship to the real owner. This teaching is behind all the support of the church, its education, missions, and philanthropy. The church is now attempting to carry this principle back to the acquisition of property as well as to its use. It is now to be applied to the energies, capacities, and abilities of men as well as to the results of their labor.

The Question of Luxury. The principle of stewardship in the use of property raises the question of luxury. Modern society is extravagant and luxurious. It wastes more than it uses. Not simply the idle rich, but many of the idle and partly idle middle class are constantly flaunting their useless expenditures in the face of those who have not sufficient to provide a healthy life. One of the great causes of poverty is the waste in luxury of the labor and materials that

would give the necessities to many needy lives. For those who indulge in luxury, it means weakness and finally degeneracy. When the world is in bitter suffering, to what extent can Christians justify themselves for indulging in expenditures for things which are not necessary to the development of personality? In war time economy becomes a necessity and thrift a virtue. But the Christian teaching makes it a duty at all times. Jesus lived and taught the simple life. His church is under obligation to free itself from the evil of luxury. It cannot be justified for sharing in the extravagance of the world in its entertainments. Missionary dinners at five dollars a plate bring against the church not only the judgment of the poor but the very judgment of God.

How Is It Made? To Christianize the acquisition of wealth means that the principle of stewardship is pushed back from a man's wealth to his ability, from the things which he has made to the energies with which he has made them. It is often impossible to use wealth in such a way as to atone or make amends for unchristian conduct in its making. The attitude can be changed, but not the consequences. The wound can be healed, but the scar remains. A man of wealth was proud of his subscriptions to anti-tuberculosis work, but his factory, with its dirt and dust and bad air and heat, was continually breeding tuberculosis among his employees. Nothing which his money could do would check the white plague as fast as it was being spread by the manner in which his money was being made. There are gifts that hurt instead of help because they were made in evil. When

money that is made by unchristian labor conditions imposed upon ignorant immigrants is spent in the propagation of the gospel among that group, it can never adequately overcome the attitude which its making has engendered. It has destroyed the possibility of brotherhood until restoration is made. It has violated the very gospel which it is seeking to proclaim. The work of the missionary cannot get beyond the deeds of the men who support him. If they desire America to become Christian, they must Christianize their part in its work life. This is beginning at the source of things.

The Fundamentals. Society depends upon the relationships of sex which perpetuate it and upon the relationships of work which maintain it. If these fundamental basic relationships are brought into harmony with the teaching of Jesus, the rest of society will more easily be made and kept Christian. Unless this be done, there cannot long be maintained the Christian home or the Christian state or even the Christian church, for an unchristian sex life or an unchristian work life destroys them. The work process itself must be carried on as a missionary enterprise. It must extend God in life. It must develop the life of the spirit as Jesus developed it at the carpenter's bench. It must continually unfold, reveal, and proclaim God to life as Jesus did.

The Coming Missionary. There are some Christian leaders who, in addition to giving their money to the spread of the gospel, are giving their lives, their brains, their energies to the working out of it in their relationships in the financial and industrial world.

"For He Had Great Possessions."
—By George Frederick Watts.

They are themselves real missionaries. If a great corporation, instead of merely putting money into missionary work at home or abroad, would dedicate all its energies to the task of so transforming the industrial process which it carries on as to make it Christian, what effect would that have upon the working world, especially upon the attitude to Christianity of those who are not Christians? As well as to give money for the extension of the gospel, it is necessary also to give life. If the ordinary processes of life are made Christian, there will be less need of the extraordinary philanthropic agencies of Christianity. If industry pays a living wage, it will have less people to support by charity. This change must begin in the church. Here at Jerusalem the gospel must first be proclaimed. In one city a church has its endowment invested in tenements. Their housing conditions used to be a by-word among social workers and finally became an open disgrace in the eyes of all the people. Until it Christianized the making of its own money, it could not effectively help to Christianize the community life. Most of the great denominations carry on printing businesses to get out their publications. What other chance have they so effectively to proclaim the gospel of Jesus to the world of labor as to put it into absolute practise in all their dealings with their employees?

Finding Brotherhood. The goal of missionary effort is the realization of a great brotherhood of all mankind, united in love and fellowship with the All-Father. But brotherhood must be something more than a spiritual ideal; it must be a fact in the work-

ing world. The compulsion is upon us to find its economic meaning. A little church was split in two factions and its usefulness destroyed because one of its leaders entered the same kind of business in which another leader was engaged and there was not enough trade in the town to maintain them both. Not even in the church can brotherhood be maintained unless it be carried out into the working transactions of life. The only way to realize God in the community is to express him in justice and righteousness and love of brotherhood in all the working affairs of the common life. The world waits for that incarnation.

Making Property Sacred. When property is made in the spirit and practise of brotherhood, when it is used as a means to further the development of all the community, it becomes truly sacred, not because somebody owns it, not because the law protects it, but because of what has gone into it, because also of its purpose and use. Into it have gone the energies of God and then the energies of man. If the result is only poverty and luxury, want and waste, bitterness and strife, these energies are worse than wasted. Such a use of property and the power to make it is both blasphemous and sacrilegious. It prostitutes the high energies of God and the labor of man to the destruction of the community. But if property is used to develop the spiritual life of the community, then the energies that went into it realize their highest values. They become one of the most powerful forces in the redemption of the human race.

Will It Work? To the proclamation of this ideal the practical world continually protests, "It cannot

be done." The perennial question even among Christians is whether Christianity is practicable—whether the gospel will work. "You can't change human nature," is the old stock objection. But human nature is being constantly changed. What is happening in the case of the twice-born men whom Christianity is constantly creating? The same transformations of human nature are being continually accomplished in community life. When the head-hunters of Borneo become peaceful citizens in a Christian community, has not human nature been changed? Set a painted savage from the woods of Britain in the period before the Roman conquest alongside a cultivated English Christian of to-day, and see if human nature has not been changed! That is precisely what the gospel does. To refuse to believe that it can in the future make changes as great as it has made in the past is to refuse to be a Christian. "Greater things than these shall ye do also," said the Master. This is the promise that belongs to those who have faith and courage to try it.

The Question of Method. The missionary duty of the church does not end with the proclamation of the Christian ideal concerning property or with the endeavor to arouse the faith and courage that will attempt the realization of this ideal. There is a further responsibility to approve and support the methods of ownership and management which embody Christian principles and which move in the direction of the Christian goal. The Federal Council of Churches declares for "the most equitable division of the product of industry that can ultimately be de-

vised." Then church-members and church groups must seek for and support those plans of industrial management and those measures of taxation and community control of industry and commerce which will more equitably distribute the income of the nation. Following this path of duty one Christian wage-earner decided to spend his energy in organizing a union in his craft; a capitalist worked out a plan of profit-sharing to enable the wage-earners in the cotton-mill of which he was president to share equitably with the owners of invested capital in the net profits of the concern and to come presently to share in its control; still another decided to devote his inherited fortune to the support of a propaganda which proposes to substitute ownership by all the people for the capitalist ownership of industry.

Cooperative Ownership. The Federal Council of Churches has declared for "the fullest possible co-operative ownership of both industry and the natural resources upon which industry depends," as the expression of the Christian ideal. But there is no fixed formula for achieving that end. A particular measure may express the Christian ideal for that particular time in that particular circumstance, but no platform will ever hold the Christian ideal for all time. The political goal of the industrial workers of all lands, as they become conscious of themselves as a class is the "collective ownership and the democratic management of the means of production and distribution." But this principle is capable of varying practical interpretation. A new party is now being organized in the United States by the amalgamation of several

reform and radical groups, which declares for "a policy of public ownership to be progressively applied to the organized industries of the nation." In outlining the "steps toward the realization of this industrial democracy" this platform states: "It is desirable that our citizens should be free to venture their earnings in the upbuilding of new forms of industry. . . . We do not object to the continuance of private enterprise in such fields so long as the gains derived therefrom are earned." The Labor Party, the new political amalgamation in England of the trade-unionists, the Socialists, and the cooperatives "leaves it open to choose from time to time whatever forms of common ownership, from the cooperative store to the nationalized railroad, and whatever forms of popular administration and control of industry, from national guilds to ministries of employment and municipal management, may in particular cases commend themselves." Society can never be fitted with a ready-made suit of clothes. Life is a continued becoming, and the gospel of Jesus is a leaven that not only grows with life but also causes its growth. It continually develops new social forms and institutions to express its spirit and purpose. Just now it is creating these new expressions in the industrial world.

What About Rewards? One reason why many people who pride themselves upon being practical think that the principle of cooperative ownership will not work is because they believe that human nature requires the stimulus of possible ownership of great possessions to bring out its initiative and energies. But the records of science, invention, and social advance

are full of great achievements by men who have never sought nor been rewarded with money. Like Jesus of Nazareth, they have lived and died for human welfare. They labored and suffered for the love of humanity. Their motive was service, and this motive will hold in the industrial world as well. Profit-making business has tried in vain to tempt by large salaries cooperative managers in England and public servants in this country to forsake their posts. Under the cooperative method, ability is developed by the challenge to serve the common weal to the utmost, and it is rewarded by the appreciation of the community and the consciousness of service rendered. Income is not equal. It is proportioned to service rendered but is never considered as the full measure of service, and there is no unearned income. In the interests of the recipients as well as of the common welfare, it is kept below the point of luxury, and in the same interest this principle, as well as the principle that all income must be earned, should be applied to those areas of industry which must for a long time to come remain the fields of private enterprise and ownership. An American philosopher has recently pointed out that society needs a "new principle of pecuniary reward." Certainly a form of society which pays one man $1,000,000 a year for doing nothing but being the son of his father, another man $50,000 a year for supplying the brains for managing the enterprise that the first man's father started, and still other men $600 a year for supplying the labor, cannot claim to have achieved either justice or efficiency in the matter of rewarding and stimulating ability. To apply to industry the mo-

tive and reward of service which Jesus taught and manifested and which operates so beneficially in science and art, in preaching and teaching, in medicine and missions, is one of the pioneer tasks awaiting present-day Christians.

The Call to Pioneers. To Christianize the world of industry is indeed a new adventure for God. Here are new continents to be discovered, new territories to be settled. The trails to them have to be opened up. There are higher ranges of living to be reached where as yet the advance-guard of humanity has not camped. To be a Christian to-day is to be an explorer, a discoverer. It is the great adventure of the age to find out how the principles of Jesus can be made to work in the actual tasks of life. To make work and government Christian—this is our great objective. To be a Christian to-day is not simply to accept a body of truth, not merely to live according to certain rules, but to find out how the great principles that Jesus gave mankind can be translated into character and conduct, individual and social. A new world has to be made. The one in which humanity is now living is intolerable to both our reason and our conscience. Who will dare to be a Christian?

A Personal Obligation. The task of Christianizing the life of the world is not to be left to a few great-hearted missionaries who dare to go out in lonely isolation to carry the gospel to new lands and unoccupied territory. It is a community matter, to be worked out by individuals, and in it all must take a part. Unless all participate it cannot be done. The question for each individual is whether, in his work relationships,

in his contacts with the world of production and consumption, he is a Christian. What do you seek first in life—money or character? the goods of the world or the things of the spirit? Will property use you or will you use it? Will it become a millstone around your neck to drag you down into the depths of low living, or will it be a tool which you will use to help your fellow men to build on earth the holy city of God? Are your expenditures being made in such a way as to contribute most to your life and to the life of others? As a purchaser are you seeing that no burdens are placed upon the lives of others because of your comfort? As an investor are your hands clean? Do you actively support these governmental policies which will make for the Christianizing of the world of work? These and a number of other questions must be answered personally by Christians. The contact of Christians with the world of work must be a missionary contact, must help to bring it into harmony with the purpose of Jesus. Then bit by bit, here a little and there a little, the transformation will be accomplished which will make the world of work one of the expressions of God upon the earth.

VIII

NEW FRONTIERS

Aim: *To show why and how home missions must undertake a propaganda to make industry Christian.*

VIII

NEW FRONTIERS

The Challenge. The spirit of home missions would carry all the benefits of Christianity to the last and least man. That man in this country is the "down-and-out," who beats his way from city to city, sleeps in a ten-cent lodging-house, a hallway, or on a bench in the park. Sometimes he is a man fallen from good estate by folly; usually he was born a wage-earner. He has felt the full brunt of our industrial system. He is one of the victims of the industrial conflict. Once he wanted to work; now he does not. We despise him for it, but he literally cannot work. He has lost both the physical and nervous capacity for sustained labor, partly because industry long since took too freely of his energy, partly because of his own habits. He is eaten up with liquor and venereal disease. But for how much of his habits are his living and working conditions responsible? Who of us can be sure we would have done any better if forced to his experience of life through childhood and youth? To reach such a man the church is sincerely anxious. It spends money and sends workers to hold services. Yet their converts increase not so fast as the numbers of "down-and-out's" remorselessly thrown off by the ever-turning wheels of the industrial system. The attitude of most of them to the efforts of the churches is thus reported:

Singin' hymns an' singin' hymns,
Screechin' fit to croak;
Make a guy on Sunday!
(Say, dat's a joke!)

I don't want no prayin', bo,
Ain't particular where I go,—
Slip me just five c's er so
Fer coffee an' a smoke.

The Challenge Repeated. If such an attitude is a challenge to the churches to examine its program for extending churches and multiplying preachers, the attitude toward the church and religion of the great multitudes doing the hard and common work of life reiterates and strengthens that challenge. Our study has shown us how this attitude runs all the way from the apathy of the unorganized twelve-hour man, "too dead tired to go to church or even to read," to the bitter hostility of such a leader as told a national gathering of clergymen: "The church is nothing but a useless appendix to modern society, and by God, we workingmen are going to cut it out." Our study has shown us how these attitudes have developed. It has pointed out the inevitable results of the long day's work, the scanty pay envelop, and industrial war. Is not the lesson now clear? If the attempt to evangelize the individuals who are exposed to such conditions is to succeed, the church must carry its program of evangelization out to the conditions which are competing with it for the control of the lives of the people it is seeking to reach. The increase of buildings and services designed to minister to the inner needs of life alone leaves the toilers for the most part unmoved. The great mass remain little changed by all

the efforts of the churches. This is not due so much to the lack of faith or courage or desire on the part of religious organizations as to the fact that the barriers of hostile economic conditions stretch clear across the path of approach to the industrial workers. These must be removed before the gospel can be glorified.

New Missionary Territory. The fact that the gospel must reach and transform industrial conditions and relations before it can successfully reach the industrial workers is seen more clearly still when we pass from individuals to groups, from persons to the mass. Let a Sunday-school or a club be started for the children engaged in street trades—the newsboys, the messengers, the venders of pencils and gum and shoe-laces—and at once something more is needed. This group of child workers suffers terribly from venereal disease, developed by the temptations of the streets. An adequate Christian program means their rescue from this evil. It means that the community will so regulate the trades that children follow on the streets as to prevent the development of immorality. There are scant results to be gathered from preaching the gospel of love to groups of workers in whose lives injustice is continually breeding hate and revenge. For such a gospel to reach men who know they are not getting all that their hands create it must first be powerful enough in the lives of those who profess it to generate such love for those who work for them as to make absolutely impossible any condition of injustice. Such practical demonstration of the reality of Christianity will be the most effective preaching for the

group of workers whose lives are now being closed to the great precepts of the gospel by the bitterness of suffering.

Trying to Be Christians. It is not only among certain groups of wage-earners that the extension of the gospel is blocked by unchristian industrial conditions. The same fact is constantly to be observed among the directors and beneficiaries of the industrial process. "A man cannot be the kind of Christian you are talking about and run a cotton-mill in this town," said a superintendent. "I have to produce a certain amount of cloth for each machine according to the plans of the efficiency experts. If a widow with four children is working on one of those machines and cannot turn out the required amount, I cannot stop to think of her needs,—I must get somebody else who can do it. I must produce the dividends for the treasurer to pay our stockholders." Here cries the new conscience of the modern manager of industry, caught between the upper and the nether millstones. "How can we maintain the standards of hours and wages which Christianity and social justice require, and meet the competition of the present industrial order?" is the constant cry of business men. They feel the gap between the world of worship and the world of work. When they go from the family circle or the church fellowship into the office, the factory, or the mill, they feel that they are going into a world where different standards prevail. The revolt of their conscience, which is often unavailing, is one of the spiritual tragedies of the modern world. It is akin to the revolt of the Christian conscience against war in a world in which

men continue to think that fighting must be done.

What Must We Do? Recently a young preacher in a small town espoused the cause of a group of unskilled immigrants who were striking because they were not receiving a living wage. "What shall I do?" said the leading employer; "tell me how I can do justice." Eventually he agreed to pay a minimum living wage. This is no isolated case. Many a modern business manager is bringing to his spiritual adviser the question which the people brought to John the Baptist or which the jailer at Philippi in his agony flung at Paul. With newly awakened sensibility, they desire to know what they must do in order not simply to be saved themselves, but to help save this industrial order which they feel to be unchristian. The same cry is coming from the troubled conscience of investors. Until a few years ago, the people in the cultured and leisure class never inquired for a moment concerning the sources of their income. When a committee in Chicago published in the papers the owners of houses of ill fame, there was an astonished protest from many of them, declaring that the property had been in the hands of agents and that they had never known for what purpose it had been used. To-day that same new conscience which makes it no longer possible for a Christian to own property used for the sale of liquor or for prostitution is asking disturbing questions about the life and health and education of the workers whose toil contributes to dividends.

A New Conscience at Work. Recently a young college graduate who with her father and mother owned

stock in a small factory in the Middle West discovered that the working conditions of the women did not agree with her Christian conscience. She insisted that her family attend the stockholders' meeting and endeavor to secure a change. Not long ago a member of a prominent family insisted on appearing at a directors' meeting of the United States Steel Corporation in order to demand that a committee of investigation be appointed concerning not simply conditions of work but concerning the relations between the men and the management. An increasing number of people are recognizing that if they are to keep their Christianity, they must extend it to their business relations, and make it cover the sources of their income. They are seeking to know what they must do in order to be Christians. Says a New York home mission worker, "I am more and more convinced as time goes on that there is no such thing as creating the type of church life we desire in New York, either among the very rich or among the poor, or for that matter, among the middle class, so long as unchristian conditions characterize industry, housing, and amusement. These unchristian conditions will not be conquered simply by a general feeling of good-will, but require definite and well-thought-out plans of action by which good-will may be made to work."

Some Wider Needs. As soon as the Christian conscience begins to operate in the industrial world, it finds its power of accomplishment is limited. As soon as individuals start to change conditions that do not harmonize with the standards of the gospel, they learn that they must reckon with the whole practise of the

industrial world. Here and there a few favored individuals, like Henry Ford or "Golden Rule Jones," possessing basic patents or superior methods of management, are able to bid defiance to the laws of competition, and to put into practise new and higher standards. But for the most part the man of Christian purpose is at the mercy of the general system and under the pressure of the people of unscrupulous and low standards. "We would like to close early," say some merchants, "but our competitors refuse." "How can we raise wages?" say others. "There is only a small margin of profit in our business, and if we cut this, our competitors will ruin us." The truth of this assertion does but voice a louder missionary challenge to organized Christianity. It means that the gospel is to be carried not simply into the changing of local conditions but into the changing of the whole nature and character of the industrial process. It becomes a question of whether the whole world's work is to be done for God or for Mammon—whether it is to be organized to "seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness," or to seek first profits, culture, and leisure for the people of superior strength.

A World-wide Issue. This is a world-wide question. It is not alone for one nation or for one race. Everywhere the gospel goes it meets the check of unchristian industrial conditions; it finds exploitation beaten into the lives of the workers of India and China and Japan. It finds an unchristian industrial order, with its competition and its ruthless waste of human life, carrying its methods and results to the peoples whom the gospel seeks to reach, sometimes before the

gospel gets there. Seeking to spread the teaching of brotherhood and peace throughout the world, the churches find the present industrial order developing economic rivalry between the nations and sowing the seeds of future conflicts. It becomes obvious that the whole missionary program of the modern church—home and foreign, national and international—demands absolutely the Christianizing of the work life of the world. This will have to be worked out by nations, by communities, and by individuals. Here a little and there a little the methods will have to be discovered which will supplant the reign of Mammon. Like the yeast changing the cells with which it comes in contact, the gospel must work up and out until it accomplish its wide task of Christianizing the social order.

A Twofold Task. The attempt to Christianize industry is of necessity a twofold task. To attempt to divide it is to compel failure. "Why not get people converted?" says one group. "That is all that is necessary. The rest will take care of itself." Another group protests, "Spend all your time changing the economic system, and the rest will take care of itself. The people will automatically become good." Both these groups have only a half-truth. Put them together and there is a program that will accomplish the desired result. The church has always sought and always must seek to change individuals, and these individuals have bettered conditions incalculably, but increasingly their power is checked as the social organization becomes more complicated and exercises more influence over the individual. Moreover, all too

many of these changed persons never seek to change conditions, never labor for a Christian world, and so themselves lose presently their vital religion. Never merely by making converts, and not at all merely by seeking to change conditions, will Christianity Christianize the industrial order. The industrial order is itself nothing but relations between persons. It can only be changed by persons who both seek to change it and will change their own lives. In so doing they will lift the pressure of unchristian conditions from off those lives which are themselves too weak ever to overcome it. Our missionary task is to produce the changed lives which will express themselves in changed conditions and thereby help other lives to develop. Not merely by external changes, nor merely by internal change of heart, will the gospel come to its expression in modern life. But the internal change of heart "must find its expression in external forms which will create a better environment."

The World of Work. The success of the attempt to Christianize the social order depends upon our ability to make the work life of the community Christian. The whole cultural and administrative life of a nation rests ultimately upon the backs of the workers. It is maintained by productive labor. The process of toil is the foundation of the community house. In the last analysis there cannot be maintained a Christian family and a Christian government unless industry is also Christian. The nations have been finding out that their life in war time depends upon their industry, upon the manner in which it is mobilized and administered. The same truth holds good

for the ordinary life of the nation in time of peace. The way in which it gets its bread and butter very largely determines what kind of homes, what kind of government, even what kind of religion its people shall have. How much of an individual can Christianity control if it does not control his bread and butter activities? How much of his time is spent in church compared to the amount that is given to his daily toil? What part of his interest and attention is engrossed by his working activities, by the necessity of earning a living for himself and family, or of making a success in a chosen career? If religion is confined to exercises of worship and has little place or power in this major part of the life and thought of the world, of what avail is it? The world found a Savior when God was expressed at the carpenter's bench. If the modern world is to be saved from its greed, its lust, its cruelty, God must again be realized in all its work life.

The Great Example. In accepting the task of applying the gospel to the world of work, the modern church will be following the ministry of Jesus. Back of his teaching lay the experience of a life that had touched the working world of its day in vital contact. This is why he was able to take most of his parables from the work life of the people, to talk about the vineyard and the harvest, the sowing and the fishing, the traders, and the women baking and sweeping in the home. The world of common labor was the world in which he lived and worked. This was why the people said that he taught not "as the scribes." This was why they heard him gladly. This is the reason

that the toilers of the earth to-day still feel that he is their leader, that he has sympathy with their needs. He belongs with the producers rather than with the possessors. The qualities which he had developed at the bench he took into the workshop of the larger world. Working with his Father at the eternal task, he is a toiler still, the "suffering Servant." The great social principles of his teaching root back in his experience and fellowship with the workers.

A Missionary Obligation. Just as much as the church is obligated to call men to fellowship with Jesus, so is it obligated to extend his principles through the whole of life. The reason for bringing men into touch with him is that he may put them in touch with God. His purpose is that God may be expressed vitally in the relations of human life, that God's justice and righteousness may be realized in human society. The kingdom of God upon the earth was his declared goal. This can be accomplished only by vitalizing the whole community life with the life of God. If Christians do not vigorously attempt this, they are compelled to live in a continued condition of compromise which finally means the loss of their aspirations. They have to take income which is stained by the blood of the toilers; they have to go to war when they believe that killing is wrong. This pressure of a hostile world upon their consciences was the reason why so many early Christians retired from it to seclusion in caves and later in monasteries. It is the reason why so many modern Christians seek to be delivered from the struggle of this world and look only for the realization of the Kingdom in some far-off

future. But there is another alternative. An important officer of one of the great corporations of this country said concerning the social creed of the churches: "That will not do. It will require too great changes in modern industry." Of course the gospel requires tremendous transformations in modern industry; that is precisely its challenge to the modern Christian. Not to conform to the world but to transform it is his duty, and continually to protest against the things that he cannot transform until the community will change them. There is crying need for a missionary propaganda which will proclaim and put into collective life the principles of Jesus. The tragedy of the modern world is that the ethical standards which its conscience has accepted for individuals do not hold for the group relations of those same individuals, which in their totality make up organized society. That explains the horrors of war and the tragedies of economic competition. It is an impossible world in which men are called upon either to relinquish or to violate their highest aspirations and ideals. Such a world must be changed. Into the fields of government and industry the principles of Jesus must be carried. This is the next great adventure for God.

The Question of Contact. Entering upon this adventure the modern church finds that it has no such degree of fellowship with the toilers at the bottom of the community life as did Jesus. Sometimes a church does not desire such fellowship. Not infrequently the pastor of a family church gathers in a group of the poor and needy only to be told at the

next official meeting that these people do not contribute anything in social standing or money to the church. Oftentimes the church desires to fellowship with these people, but finds that it cannot owing to economic conditions. Not infrequently community studies by a pastor reveal a group of people who say they cannot go to church because they have not the kind of clothes that would make them feel comfortable. More and more our religious work follows the lines of social cleavage which are determined by the work life and incomes of people. The church has a larger proportion of its constituency among the people who manage and direct industry, the clerks in stores and offices, the professional and personal service group, and the work upon the soil, than among industrial workers. These are increasingly divided in their church relationship according to their social standing and income. The managerial and directing and professional group attend church in the suburb or the family residence neighborhood. The workers with their hands go to the mission or the settlement or the small church in altogether another kind of neighborhood. There is no such democratic religious contact as obtained in the early American community when the workers of different kinds mingled together in the one common church.

Some Particular Groups. There are great groups of toilers with whom the Protestant churches have little fellowship. The miners who toil under ground are largely segregated into their own communities. They are mostly immigrant. Very little religious work has been planned for them. The men who "go down

to the sea in ships," who carry the trade of the world, who gather the harvests of the deep, form another segregated group. There are missions for seamen, and there are gospel ships upon the fishing banks. But the seamen, like the miners, call for special study and interdenominational administration. There is the great group of seasonal laborers, the men who toil in the lumber and construction camps, in the wheat and ice harvests, doing the basic work of the world which has to be done with bare hands. These men, like their forebears in the past, are subject to great hardship and danger. For the most part they live unnoticed, in hard and even brutalizing conditions, without the opportunities of family life, and then descend into oblivion. Here and there a "sky-pilot" penetrates the lumber camps with his preaching, and in the construction camps the Young Men's Christian Association carries on its religious and welfare work. But the conditions of these occupations and their effect upon the workers continually challenge the Christian conscience, and the question is not simply how to preach the gospel to these groups but how to make their occupations contribute to the Christian life, for them and for the rest of us.

Unchristian Sections of Life. The Christian worker who starts to carry the gospel to any one of these groups of toilers not only meets conditions which continually outrage his Christian conscience, but he oftentimes finds these conditions maintained by prominent Christians. They are living in relations with the toilers that are a continuous denial of the teachings of Jesus. Recently a preacher found a prominent church-

man in his community operating a factory for the production of cheap shoes with the cheapest kind of foreign labor. He himself was living in comfort and drove his six-cylinder car. But the workers were paid much less than the standard wages; they were perforce living in housing conditions which made for the degradation of their family life and so constituted them a continual menace to the community, and yet this prominent churchman had no sense of the fact that these conditions were unchristian or that his relation to these workers out of whose toil he was getting the opportunity for comfort and luxury was a violation of the brotherhood which Jesus proclaimed. A chauffeur who for years drove one of the great pioneers of American industrial development to his office told a preacher of his employer's remarkable personal kindliness, describing how on cold winter mornings he would be asked into the house to get a warm cup of coffee.

"But," said he, "as soon as we entered the business districts, his character seemed to change. One morning an old beggar was crossing the road in front of me, and I slacked up.

"'What's the matter?' said he. I told him.

"'Drive over him,' he said. 'I cannot be late to my office.'"

This man had become Christian in large sections of his life—in his family, in philanthropic relations, but in business there was a totally different standard.

What Remains? Christianity has made less progress in the work of life than in the family or in the governmental life of mankind. It is still good business

to buy labor at the cheapest possible rate or to hold up the food prices when the country is short of bread, though war conditions have tended to arouse the public conscience on the latter point. Yet the prophets thundered against these things centuries ago, and Jesus denounced the scribes and Pharisees for them. The law of competition plays havoc with the Christian law of brotherhood. On the stock exchange men will ruthlessly ruin others and then subscribe to a charity fund for them. In the last decade the Christian conscience has expressed itself against many unjust conditions, but it yet has to reach down into the fundamental, underlying relations of the work life.

Some Consequences. Because these relations are not Christian, the community continually suffers great waste and misery. Much of our charitable and missionary effort comes back to relieve the consequences of the making of the money which supports it. A man who turned a sick widow out of his tenement because she was behind with the rent was quite willing to respond to a friend's request for a subscription for a poor widow without knowing it was for his evicted tenant. The energies of Christianity will be required more strenuously to Christianize the normal aspects of life than to carry on remedial agencies. It is easier to support the mission, the settlement, and to work in organized charity, than to remove the conditions which call for them. Yet the prevention of these causes is the task to which Christian energy now addresses itself.

Achievements and Results. The gospel has not been proclaimed for twenty centuries without having

some effect upon the work life of the world. Indeed the fact that it has inherent missionary power is clearly evident from the changes in the world of work that have accompanied its preaching. When the gospel was first preached, the work of the world was largely done by slave labor. Under this system a few workers lived in comparative security, freedom, and comfort, but great hordes of them were driven to labor and even to death with bitter brutality. This condition of slavery was the best that the loftiest philosophy could offer to the toiler. But the proclamation of the gospel has abolished slavery—whether it was the bitter slavery of the Congo or the comfort of the slave in the enlightened Southern home. If it be true that some of the manual toilers are worse off to-day than when they were cared for by humane slave-owners, it is yet true that they are at least free to rebel and to change their conditions. They have the means and the opportunity within their hands. The labor legislation of our industrial period has been in part an expression of the ideals of the gospel. Demanded by the workers themselves, it has yet been powerfully promoted and furthered by those whose compassion has been stirred by the teachings of Jesus and whose sense of justice has been quickened from the same source. In England the leaders of the Evangelical Party which grew out of the great evangelical revival had not a little to do with the drafting of the first labor laws which protected the women and child workers of England. In this effort they went directly counter to the financial interests of the manufacturing group who had helped them put through the

humanitarian program for the abolition of slavery and the improvement of the conditions of the poor and the prisoner.

Women and Children First! The conditions of labor for women have everywhere been changed under Christianity. Woman is no longer a beast of burden as in the Orient. A few years ago a manufacturer argued to the writer that he might just as well work the girls in his factory ten hours as nine. His argument was in essence that he had a right to work them to the point of exhaustion for his own profit—that the life of a woman was nothing more nor less than material for economic output. Recently a great leader of business declared that he had no right to ask any other girl to work under conditions which he would not be willing to have his own daughter work under. Here speaks the new conscience, generated by the religion which teaches people to love their neighbors as themselves. This is why child labor is under sentence of abolition in this country. It is because Christianity has slowly developed the principle that childhood is not economic power, but spiritual potentiality. This changed concept of the workers' position is due not simply to the independent spirit of the Western peoples, but to the great teachings of Jesus concerning personality. To discover all the further meanings of these teachings in the modern working world is now the duty of the churches.

A Time of Destiny. Two crucial questions confront organized Christianity. One grows out of the demand of the workers at the bottom of society that the organization be changed. This demand is also voiced

by the Christian conscience. It is therefore certain that the industrial process will be changed. The question is how. By the rough, rude hands of the workers in rebellion, or by the constructive purpose of workers and leaders together actuated by the spirit of Jesus? The other question concerns the attitude of the United States as a growing economic and financial power. Will it too seek a place in the sun and perpetuate and increase the pagan system of conflict and exploitation, or will it follow the teaching of Jesus and devote its great energies in service to the common good of mankind? Can the churches furnish the right answer to these questions?

Doing the Will. To find the answer to these questions, religion must be worked out in the realm of deed. We have been naming the Name; we must know what it means to do the will. Religion has been expressed in feeling, it has been expressed in intellectual formulae explaining the universe. It cannot be fully expressed in either one or the other. Expressed only in the realm of feeling, it becomes mere fanaticism. Confined to the realm of the intellect, it becomes mere sterile speculation or dogmatism. It must be made real by experiment. It must express itself in practise, and then it will become a great educational force, educating both those who practise it and others who see it. What its practise must be in the working world is now to be discovered.

Personal Influences. We need better Christians and more of them. The demand for a social religion does not lessen the emphasis upon personal Christianity. It requires individuals to consecrate them-

selves in fuller harmony to the purpose of Jesus. The Christianizing of the working part of life requires personal as well as group action. There is a manufacturer in a certain industry, now aged and full of honor, who for years was regarded as a fool and a sissy by his fellow manufacturers because he would not pursue the ruthless game of competition with all his strength. He cared more about saving life, about the welfare of the workers, than about the mere amassing of a fortune. Now that the whole industry has come to see both the wisdom and the humanity of his course and to adopt the safety-first movement, he has come to his place, but he long paid the price in misunderstanding and contempt. He was willing to be thought a fool and to suffer for Christ's sake. This is the great evangelistic appeal of the gospel to-day. It calls men and women into high service, into suffering, into sacrifice, that they too may discover the way to put God into life because they are willing, if need be, to lose their lives. There is a more compelling reason to-day for persons to be Christian than ever before in the world's history.

Collective Deeds. Not good people alone does Christianity require, but a good community. The working world is made up of a number of relationships. It will not be Christian unless all those relationships are made Christian. The great gap that now exists between personal Christianity and collective action in government and industry must be closed. We must be able to live in a world where we are not compelled to compromise. That world is yet to be made. It will take all kinds of cooperative action.

Just what forms this will take no man can foretell. That is one of the joys of pioneering.

Fields of Action. The general types of work which the church is called upon to undertake in the extension of Christianity in the industrial world have become clearly outlined in the development of the past few years. Instances of all of them have been repeatedly given in various chapters of this book. They are: (1) *Study and Investigation*: involving, in addition to study classes, finding the facts of local industrial conditions, and becoming acquainted with the needs and points of view of local groups of workers. (2) *Propaganda*: including both the proclamation of the Christian ideal and its specific application to industrial needs, through the pulpit, public gatherings, and in printed form, and the circulation of this material among non-churchgoers. (3) *Personal Example and Experiment*: The churches may properly require of their members to put into practise these industrial standards upon which they have agreed as expressing the Christian ideal. They should develop by their teaching the prophets and pioneers of industrial transformation. (4) *Cooperation with Other Agencies*: covering all organizations, whether of workers or employers or both, producers or consumers or both, that are working for the standards adopted by the churches and in so far as their methods are in harmony with the Christian spirit. (5) *Support of Legislation.* Just as the churches have united to support measures to relieve society from the evils of the liquor traffic, so can they unite to free the community from the burden of destructive industrial conditions and relations.

For Instance! In dealing with any industrial situation, local or general, all of the above-described methods will at one time or another need to be used. For example, in its efforts to relieve many workers and communities from the effects of the seven-day week, the churches have found it necessary to investigate the nature, conditions, and requirements of those industries and forms of business which must operate continuously, and to educate church-members, legislators, employers, and wage-earners concerning their effects. Preachers have persuaded employers and managers to modify and eliminate seven-day work. The movement has involved close cooperation with the American Association for Labor Legislation and with the legislative forces of organized labor. It has required the introduction into state legislatures of one-day-rest-in-seven bills, and active campaigning in their behalf. The same general methods are required in order to effect the more far-reaching industrial changes required by the gospel.

Changing Relationships. In the cooperative effort of all the forces of modern society to make industry harmonize with the highest ideals of mankind, the church has a peculiar province. It is concerned with the eternal destiny of man, with his relationship with God, here and hereafter. Therefore in the industrial world its primary concern is with those underlying relationships between men and groups of men that constitute industry, because these are inseparable from men's relationship with God. When these relationships between men which constitute society are changed in the direction of the teaching of Jesus, men

are brought into a different relationship to God. The two things belong together. Jesus said people could not find God in the temple unless they had first established right relations with their fellow men. If those were lacking they must leave their gift at the altar and go out and find them. He said men must call God "our Father." They must find him together. They could not find him alone. That was his experience. So he worked it out at the carpenter's bench and in all social relations with men. Those who find out what brotherhood means will know who God is, and those who know who God is will be able to find out what brotherhood means. If the search for both is honest, they will be discovered together. Gradually they will work themselves out in the experience of the individual, the community, and the race.

Tackling the Job. The church is willing to-day to undertake the new enterprise. The new home missions believes that all of life is within its field. It will attempt the whole task of Christianizing the world without stopping to count the cost. It is enlisting all the forces of the church for propaganda, for experiment, for discussion, for action in all the contacts and experiences of life. It is a general mobilization. What is your bit? That is the personal question. How will you express Christianity in your own life, in your own community?

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